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18 February 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1976

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# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ERRATUM: In JPRS 80054 of 8 February 1982, No 1973 of this series, the article on page 16 entitled "SED Fears of Polish Crisis' Spillover Analyzed" should have carried the introductory subslug [Article by anonymous SED member: "'So That It Won't Happen Here as It Did in Poland'--The SED Leadership and the Regime of Jaruzelski"].

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DACO-ROMAN ROOTS OF ROMANIANS DISPUTED IN RECENT BOOK

Cluj-Napoca STEAUA in Romanian Dec 81 p 59

[Article by Virgiliu Stefanescu-Draganesti: "The Endeavors of a Scrutinizer"]

[Text] Arpad Balog (who also signs some works with the pseudonym "Scrutator Valachorum" [Scrutinizer of the Wallachians]) treats once again in his work "Histoire demythifiee de la Roumanie" [Demythitized History of Romania] (La pensee universelle, Paris, 1979) the theory formulated by Robert Roesler, to the effect that the Roman population left Dacia completely, under Aurelian, in 272 AD, and the Romanians, coming from the south of the Danube, a thousand years later, gradually occupied the former Roman province, going into Transylvania which had been occupied by Hungarians in the meantime.

A. Balog states that he is proposing--by supplementing Roesler's theory--to combat, in a scientific manner, some assertions in "Histoire de la Roumanie des origines a nos jours" [History of Romania--From its Origin to Our Times] by Miron Constantinescu, Constantin Daicoviciu and Stefan Pascu, published in three volumes in Paris, in 1970. Examining his work we find that he adopts, as a form and as an essential characteristic of his book, a style of expression which abounds with invectives, malicious comments, etc aimed at the aforementioned Romanian authors, at Romanians in general and at French and English authors and others who have accepted the theses of Romanian historians, both in the past and in the present.

As for the substance of the work--the theories of A. Balog are in conflict with the most basic scientific truths, as we can see from the following examples. First of all, he maintains that there is no linguistic evidence of the continuity of the Daco-Romans in Dacia, after the departure of the Roman legions and authorities, thus ignoring the Gothic bible of Wulfila, of the 4th century, which is full of Latinisms borrowed, in the 3rd and 4th centuries, from the Daco-Romans who had remained in Dacia.

The author considers that the Wallachians are a population which has nothing in common with the Romans and which was formed in what is currently Bulgaria in the 7th century and then went to the former territory of Dacia in the 13th century and then to Transylvania which had been Hungarian for a long time.

Later on, A. Balog states that one cannot rule out the fact that the Romanians might have borrowed Latin expressions through the intermediary of Hungarian culture because Latin served as a means of communication and as a literary language in Hungary for hundreds of years and also, it was used by the Catholic clergy. (He also mentions that the Slavonic language was used in the Romanian Orthodox Church.)

The above examples show that we have no need to refer to other contradictory or groundless assertions to illustrate the unscientific character of the book of A. Balog. But we would also like to call attention to the unusual use of compromising language, which shocks any serious reader who consults the book thinking that he is consulting a scientific work.

CSO: 2700/160

LAW AGAINST DISSIDENT WRITERS TO BE PREPARED

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 15 Jan 82 p 5

[Article by Hans Haider: "Literature As a Police Case? GDR is Preparing a Law on Writers"]

[Text] Signs are increasing in the GDR that writers, especially young ones, are once more about to be put under restraints. Only one month after the surprising West-East German writers' congress on "Safeguarding Peace" in East Berlin, where even GDR dissidents were permitted to speak, it became known that the East German Ministry for Culture is preparing a "Law for the Protection of the Professional Designation of Writers." While this measure may sound like a political concession, it will be suitable for designating as criminals any politically embarrassing or anti-doctrinaire authors because of "antisocial tendencies", for jailing them and for "re-educating" them with forced labor. Anyone refusing to integrate himself into the professional life of the workers' and peasants' republic is considered "antisocial;" it is therefore sufficient to deny an author "writer" status to force him into another profession or to make him a case for police attention.

Asked about this proposed law by DIE PRESSE, Secretary Hannemann of the GDR Writers Union headquarters confirmed that "something on that order is being considered"—for the reason that "there are people in every country who call themselves writers, but who don't do any work." But Hannemann wished to emphasize particularly that in the GDR there is no such thing as a "prohibition to exercise a profession."

According to a report in Hamburg's STERN, quoting the esteemed Hinstorff publishing house of Rostock and the liberal-democratic East Berlin party newspaper DER MORGAN, only members and candidates of the GDR Writers Union will in the future be permitted to write. "Possible" exemptions are said to be granted to individuals able to prove minimum annual earnings of 6,000 marks from writing. Says union official Hannemann: "The profession of 'writer' cannot be tied to membership or candidature in the Writers Union, because there are many authors in the GDR who are not or who are no longer members. I am not familiar with the details of the proposed law; but I do not believe that we can tie this to any particular amount of money, because even established authors' incomes fluctuate from one year to the next. It will hardly be that formal."

As recently as June 1979 the GDR Writers Union expelled authors Kurt Bartsch, Adolf Endler, Stefan Heym, Karl-Heinz Jakobs, Klaus Poche, Klaus Schlesinger, Rolf

Schneider, Dieter Schubert and Joachim Seyppel from its ranks. Jureck Becker resigned from the union of his own volition shortly after the expulsion of Wolf Biermann. It seems that the union, taking cognizance of individual incomes, does not wish to erect obstacles to the writing profession of such severity that expelled members who are known in the West are branded as "antisocial."

Management procedures available in the past have been sufficient to make it impossible for an author to publish a book or work in the theater or in broadcasting. But the new law will make it possible to chase undesirable writers and critical thinkers from their desks, or at least to demote their literary efforts to off-duty moonlighting status. However, during the last few years there has grown up a "scene" outside the official literary bureaucracy, peopled by many young authors who, while unpublished, have many opportunities to hold public readings of their work. Protestant and Catholic clergy provide them with rooms for that purpose. Increasingly, readings are taking place in private groups. This "alternative" literature is a thorn in the side of the authorities; it is likely to grow despite the impending repressive directives and it exists without providing its protagonists with a provable source of income from writing.

It is easy to see even now that the new law is intended to help destroy this literary scene. Since in the GDR too there are sufficient numbers of establishment types in the literary world who want to protect their benefits above and beyond any political motivation, there is no cause for assuming that the Writers Union will defeat the proposed law.

9273

CSO: 2300/116

NEW LIGHT ANTI-TANK WEAPON DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 38 (signed to press 14 Sep 81) p 8

['Science and Technology' feature article by Lt Col W. Kopenhagen: "RPG-18--A New Short-Range Anti-Tank Weapon"]

[Text] Technical Data on RPG-18

Caliber: 64 mm  
Length in transport position: 705 mm  
Length in firing position: 1050 mm  
Weight: 2.6 kg  
Initial velocity: 114 m/s  
Range of direct fire (target height 2 m): 135 m  
Maximum viser range: 200 m  
Time required to put in firing position: 8-10 s

Guided anti-tank rockets (PALR) have proven themselves as a highly effective means for the destruction of armored combat vehicles of all types. To name an example: The Soviet military press reported that in the 1973 Middle East war, up to 50 percent of the tanks deployed were lost in 19 days of combat. The reason given for this high loss is the fact that the effectiveness of the defense against tanks has risen sharply, particularly with the help of PALR. In the second World War, most tanks were destroyed by the artillery, the losses of tanks in the Arab-Israeli war of 1973 are distributed as follows: PALR more than 50 percent, from tanks up to 22 percent, due to air strikes, antitank mines, and other devices about 28 percent (taken from VOYENNAYA MYSL', No 3, 1981). It is to be assumed that of the 28 percent, most of the tanks were destroyed by direct fire artillery pieces.

Since the PALR are however not effective and guidable immediately on launching, but rather only after a certain distance, a certain gap results immediately in front of the front lines and anti-tank weapons. This space is filled with canons of all calibers and the RPG-7 anti-tank weapon which has an optimal firing range of 150 m. For engaging tanks at close range, there are in addition anti-tank hand grenades which can be thrown 15 to 20 m, or 20 to 25 m. The Soviet defense industry has created a new anti-tank weapon, the reactive RPG-18 anti-tank grenade, for the area which is outside of the effective range of the PALR.

It penetrates the armor of all tanks and armored vehicles (see chart for technical data) and supplements anti-tank defense at close range very substantially.



The anti-tank weapon which operates as ammunition in the complete state is not--as, for example, the RPG-7--a piece of personal defense weaponry. The entire staff is to train on it. All soldiers must be able to deploy it effectively. Altogether the RPG-18 increases, when used in conjunction with other armor-piercing weapons, of course, the possibilities for tank destruction at close range many times over.

#### Construction of the Anti-Tank Grenade

This highly effective device consists of the launching tube and the actual grenade. For practice purposes, the reactive anti-tank grenade RPG 18 with simulated warhead and fuse attachment is used. The RPG-18 can only be used once. For economic reasons, the empty tubes are retrieved. The firing tube made of fiberglass-reinforced plastic serves as a transport container and starting device. The outer part houses the sighting apparatus and the firing mechanism. The grenade consists of the warhead and the reactive power unit. The fuse is activated 2 to 15 m in front of the tube. It consists of a piezoelectronic head portion and a bottom portion equipped with electric spark detonator. If the electromechanism fails, or if the grenade fails to hit a target after a flight of 4 to 6 seconds, the fuse and with it the grenade dismantles itself.

With only a few motions, the reactive anti-tank grenade is to be brought from the transport to the battle and ready-to-fire position. First of all, parts of the launching tube must be pulled out and assembled. The dioptic scope as well as the aiming points (red triangles with the numbers 5, 10, 15, 20 for 50 m, 100 m, 150 m, 200 m) snap into position.

#### Safety Regulations

A label is glued on every tube which explains with sketches and text how the RPG-18 is to be handled and which safety regulations are to be absolutely observed. Among them are, above all:

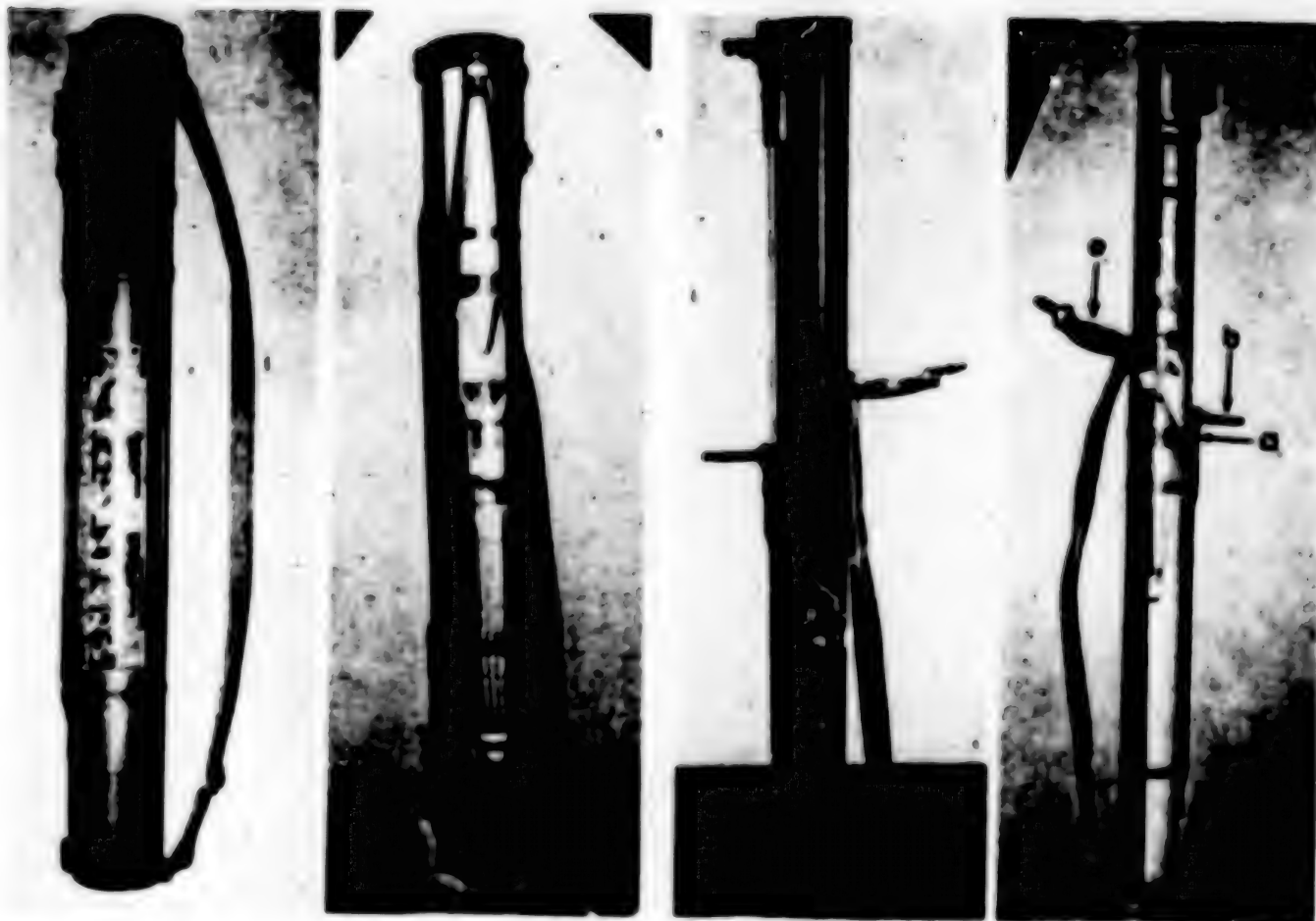
It is not to be fired when people are present in a 90 degree sector and less than 30 meters behind the weapon; when obstacles are closer than 2 meters, or when the height of the firing line is less than 20 cm.

Once parts of the tube have been pulled apart, they may under no circumstances be pushed back together again.

If the firing position is changed, the RPG-18 is to be secured in the firing position, and is to be grasped with the hands after the tube has been raised up.

Under no circumstances is the grenade to be removed or the weapon to be dismantled. The gunner slings the RPG-18 and carries it on his back. For parachute jumps it has a special cover. It can be fired from the prone, kneeling or standing position. Depending on the combat situation, a command to fire is given, or the gunner acts independently.





RPC-18 in Transport Position

RPC-18 in Tactical Position

(Pictures 2 and 4 are cut models)

KEY:

- a. Firing lever, safety lever
- b. Sight
- c. Collimating mark
- d. Front cover of tube
- e. Rear cover of tube

9428

CSO: 2300/104

MILITARY, IDEOLOGICAL INDOCTRINATION IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS ANALYZED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 14 No 12, Dec 81 (signed to press 20 Nov 81)  
pp 1266-1273

['Analyses and Reports' feature article by Joachim-Ruediger Groth, professor of German literature and pedagogics, Pedagogical College, Schwaebisch Gmuend: "Military Education in the GDR Through Children's Textbooks--A Documentation Based on 1979-81 Publications." For a translation of a Hamburg DER SPIEGEL article on the same topic see JPRS 79705, 22 Dec 81, No 1951 of this series, pp33-36. Also available are translations of a West German commentary and a communique by the GDR education minister, published under the heading, "Intensified Ideological Propaganda in Education Urged," in JPRS 79476, 19 Nov 81, No 1943, pp 20-22]

[Text] "....Soldiers went marching by,  
The entire company.  
And when we are big,  
We want to be soldiers just like them."<sup>1</sup>

"....My brother is a soldier  
In the big armored car,  
And I may proudly say:  
My brother protects the state."<sup>2</sup>

The 6- to 9-year old children in the GDR sing this and similar things in praise of the army.

Contents of Socialist Military Education

Children's books in the GDR which develop the topic of "military education"--and they are many--have the same goal: to awaken in the child, as early as possible, a positive relationship to the state and its armed power.

"Juergen is in the fifth class. Almost every week he receives mail. From Frank, his brother, who is a soldier. Frank is 10 years older than Juergen and is driver for a commander. Juergen is proud of his brother, but Frank does not know it. And Juergen envies him, Frank does know that. He envies him because he can be together with a real commander almost every day. Frank knows that his little brother wants to be a commander some day, too. Thus, he describes to him all the important experiences with his commander, Colonel Petermann."<sup>3</sup>

This is how "My Commander" begins, a story in a children's book which through stories and factual information is supposed to awaken in readers 9 years and older sympathies for the National People's Army (NVA) and the six other armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

In the GDR information and political convictions within the meaning of socialist military education are conveyed to the child as early as possible; in this connection, the "Dictionary for Socialist Youth Policy" has, among other things, the following statement:

"Component of socialist education which is aimed particularly at developing and solidifying that knowledge and those convictions, characteristics and kinds of behavior which enable the citizen to fulfill his duties in defending socialism with a high level military attitude....

This includes preparedness and the capability in each individual to oppose the enemies of socialism, even by using weapons....

Introducing youth to the tasks of national defense merits the special attention of the FDJ and the GST [Society for Sport and Technology]. The Ernst Thaelmann Organization of Pioneers organizes the "Friendship" maneuver in order to develop love and respect for the soldiers of the NVA, the Soviet Army and the other armies of the socialist defense coalition by means of eventful vacation games which have a military motivation and stimulate physical training."<sup>4</sup>

From the perspective of an 8- to 9-year old imaginary narrator, an example of preparation for a maneuver reads as follows:

"In the beginning of January the maneuver staff met. We sat in the Pioneers' room with our group Pioneer leaders and Lieutenant Richter, the FDJ secretary of the sponsoring unit, and held discussions. We wanted to imitate the "Brotherhood in Weapons" maneuver of the socialist armies: Red will occupy a hill in the national forest and defend it against the attack by Blue. That was a magnificent idea, and there was a very lively discussion.... The next few weeks flew by. We drew a poster and invited all the Young Pioneers of the two third classes to the maneuver. In the afternoon of Pioneer day Lieutenant Richter told us about life in the NVA. We practice camouflaging and sneaking and rigged up shoulder straps."<sup>5</sup>

#### Emotional Ties to the NVA

From age 5 on, children should also experience as many positive things as possible about the army. By way of example mention can be made here of "Sleeping Beauty Sits in the Pine Forest." Appealing color illustrations appropriate to the age, children's language in rhymes with a rough rhythm, a language that is amusing and entertaining, are intended for the small observer and listener:

"The people are those  
Who build automobiles  
And who plant the seeds,  
They are the people and the People's Army,  
They are the soldiers of the people...."<sup>6</sup>

"But when they properly march then,  
They are all in step with one another,  
So they cannot lose one another  
And they all make it together...."<sup>7</sup>

"A soldier can do little alone,  
He cannot keep watch over himself alone;  
For at some time or other he will finally go to sleep,  
But no one is a soldier for himself alone.  
Thus, because they help one another patiently,  
Our soldiers call one another comrade."<sup>8</sup>

Combining the world of childlike experiences and imagination—Sleeping Beauty from the fairy tale—with the world of the military is typified by the texts in this children's book. People and army are one entity.

People do not get lost marching in step. And others always keep watch if you sleep. Like mommy and daddy at home. Help is always there, too.

Thus, in addition to gaining sympathies and awakening interest in military circumstances, the child is made familiar with education for the socialist collective and the significance of the party.

Minister of Defense and General Hoffmann stated this objective as follows in a speech on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the NVA:

"The leading role of the party in the armed forces, that is the most important source of our strength.... A source—which never dries up, which is truly inexhaustible—of the moral unity and military strength of our army, of the stability of our overall national defense is the fact that people and army of the GDR are a heart and soul.

Who has counted the nimble children's hands which very lovingly craft gifts for the soldiers of the NVA?"<sup>9</sup>

#### Friendship With the Soviet Union

Of course, such children's books not only include the notion of ranks, military routines and branches of the service ("Look at the jet there, you hardly ever get to see one up close"<sup>10</sup>), but also referenc<sup>e</sup> to big brother:

"They have a red star,  
It shines on their caps,  
They help to protect  
Our homeland from enemies.

Who these good friends are,  
You can easily guess,  
You surely know them, definitely,  
They are Soviet soldiers."<sup>11</sup>

The Thaelmann Pioneer can read the following in the book about "Our National People's Army":

"Our brother in arms, the Soviet army, is the most modern and powerful army in the world. It is the main power in the superior and invincible socialist military might."<sup>12</sup>

The "laws" of the children's organization provide, among other things, for the following: "We Thaelmann Pioneers protect the peace and hate warmongers (...), we are friends of the Soviet Union."<sup>13</sup>

At a young age children are confronted with a feeling of solidarity which is oriented to the concepts of "socialist patriotism" and "socialist internationalism." On 1 May (and other socialist holidays) the Red Army and the people of the GDR join together under the red flag into a "solid wall" which defies the enemy:

"Fighters in the Soviet army  
Turn on to the boulevard.  
Blouses stiff. Eyes flashing.  
'Friendship! Peace!' The crowd waves.  
Alex joins in humming the tune  
And marches at the same pace....  
The May light beams warmer.  
The tribune comes into view.  
Activists, communists,  
FDJ members, members of the People's Army,  
Flag formations march by  
With the emblem of the party.  
Rows of people everywhere,  
Young and old--a solid wall."<sup>14</sup>

Flags and emblems have an especially high symbolic value, particularly from educational points of view. Children early on are to develop a stable emotional attitude primarily toward the red flag, symbol of proletarian internationalism and the distinctive sign of the class struggle and communist government:

"Alex seizes the Red Banner.  
There, it floats and flutters.  
Bright as fire the silk glows.  
Alex laughs and jumps....  
Alex holds the Red Flag  
Firmly in his arm.  
Softly he sings a little song to it,  
And his heart is warm."<sup>15</sup>

#### NVA and Organization of Pioneers

Military education in the GDR is done not only via the children's book and educational institutions, but is also an essential task of the Ernst Thaelmann Organization of Pioneers,<sup>15a</sup> which is frequently supported by the armed forces:

"Comrade Hallinger told me of your friendship with the Pioneers," said Brauer. "That is a good thing, we would like to take advantage of it and expand it. I am



giving you the following charge: At the Theodor Neubauer Oberschule you will establish a 'Young Commanders' group. You will lead this group. Further, you will prepare a sponsorship agreement between the school and our company. The sponsorship agreement should state that the Kuhnert unit will support this school's politico-military education. Discuss everything with the directress of the Pioneers and the deputy directress for extra-curricular education, they know all about this kind of thing. Tell me when things are that far along!"<sup>16</sup>

"...In the following week the solemn signing of the sponsorship contract between the Pioneer student group of the Theodor Neubauer Oberschule and the Kuhnert unit took place. In front of the school building stood the flagbearers and guidons of the Pioneer student group, to their left and right border soldiers were lined up in steel helmets with submachine guns slung over their shoulder. The other three sides of the schoolyard were lined with pupils, in their midst a detachment from the border company. First Lieutenant Brauer gave a short speech. Rita Schubert expressed thanks in the name of the Pioneer student group, the director read out the sponsorship contract. The Pioneer's chorus sang, Pioneers recited poems, it was as solemn as Kurt Haensel had imagined."<sup>17</sup>

What value the cooperation between the NVA and Pioneers organization has is easy to see from this passage. The realistically sketched scene is also an example of how extensively the environment of the child is filled with organizational elements which are derived from military protocol. Roll calls and reports by the noncommissioned officers to superiors, with the subordinates at strict attention, are also part of the everyday school and Pioneer life of the child in the GDR.

#### Socialist Military Education--Part of the GDR Educational System

Children's books in the GDR offer a self-contained educational conception. While children's literature in the FRG reveals a broad spectrum of diverse topics and situations, the general range for children's literature in the GDR is kept small. It is supposed to educate its readers to be "socialist personalities," who are truly devoted to the ideas of socialism and communism, who think and act as patriots (...) and protect socialism in a reliable way."<sup>18</sup>

In EINHEIT, the organ of the SED, this task is formulated as follows:

"The communist conception of education is a productive challenge to children's literature to join in, with its special opportunities, in the formation of the universally developed personality, in the shaping of communist ideals and ideas of value."<sup>19</sup>

Of course, children's books in the GDR deal with many ranges of topics, but common to all of them is one objective: communist education.

#### The Positive Hero

The characters conform to this goal. As positive heroes they are objects of identification for child readers. In contrast, characters who are generally negatively drawn are outside of society. Their characteristics and types of action are to



evoke in the reader rejection or even repugnance and support for that which is acknowledged to be right. A forceful black-white drawing is supposed to prevent doubts and uncertainty in the formation of judgment. The language supports this purpose.

"In 'When the Ice Breaks'<sup>20</sup> the reader from age 10 up (the reader's age is always given in children's books) is introduced to Peter Moeller, the "hero," who has not gotten a position as apprentice as an automobile mechanic because of poor grades. After being called up for the NVA and after initial failures, the process transforming him into a model person sets in, thanks to education by the military collective. Now he is distinguished by courage, bravery, decisiveness, endurance and technical knowledge.

Naturally this development is not concealed from his superiors: "The compan, chief spoke of the battery which we organized and of the great danger which we averted. He said, courage and decisiveness are expected of the soldier in a socialist army. If it is necessary, and if there is no superior present, he must make a decision himself and act. We did that and in so doing demonstrated courage and determination. Since all three of us proved ourselves several times, we would be honored by being photographed in front of the unfurled troop flag and by being handed a certificate.

It went through me that that cannot be true. Being photographed in front of the troop flag and handed a certificate, that is one of the highest honors which a soldier can receive in basic military service!

...It had really made me speechless. At the last moment, I caught myself and said out loud together with my comrades Wuest and Kinneborn: 'I serve the GDR!' It seemed to me as if I were making a promise. After duties for the next day were issued, I, who had been promoted, reported to Corporal Wallner and Lieutenant Fritsch, according to regulations. Both congratulated me. It was a strange feeling when they addressed me as 'comrade private first class.'<sup>21</sup>

And now things are moving only in an upward direction for private first class Peter Moeller: he attends noncom school, and his girl friend, director of the Pioneers at a school, likes him again.

This example shows another one: positive heroes are pegged as an object of identification only so high, so that they are also attainable for the average youthful reader. The characters, in so far as they have direct function as a model, are primarily members of the rank and file soldiers and the noncommissioned officer ranks. In children's literature the officer maintains a position which, because of its authority and aloofness to the common soldier, is above criticism and doubt, and thus conveys to the child reader the basic model of the hierarchical structures of the GDR system in general.

"Being an officer is a profession, an interesting and difficult one, the officer is a good and strict teacher for the soldier."<sup>22</sup>

Conflicts and contradictions in children's literature, to the extent they are constructed within the social framework of the GDR, are represented as surmountable.

(As is also the case in affirmative literature for adults.) In this socialist collective, party and superiors help to eliminate any difficulties and problems.

#### Military Education and Class Struggle. The Inner-German Border

It is actually a sound socialist world that the child finds in the books--if the others, the enemies of socialism, did not exist. To be sure, they are outside the country, primarily in the FRG, but they are always abysmally evil and dangerous."

"'Comrades,' said Captain Kuhnert, 'I know that you are ready to drop from fatigue. But in the last 28 hours I haven't slept a minute more than you. The commander has ordered a troop search, and this time it is not an exercise, but deadly serious. We are looking for a border violator who ruthlessly uses a weapon. It will be up to you and your preparedness whether this dangerous enemy can be rendered harmless or not. I have no doubts that you will fulfill your charge honorably, no matter how difficult it is for you!' That's that! thought Jochen. Ingrid will come for nought. Who knows when we will find the fellow and who knows what will come after we have apprehended him.

But there was not time now for pondering! He was a soldier, and somewhere in the forests someone who wanted to do harm to our republic and who was shooting without hesitation at peaceful people was trying to penetrate the border. He had to keep that alone in mind right now."<sup>23</sup>

By taking advantage of the local border goods traffic (!) the West German agent had gotten into the GDR. Thanks to the vigilance of civilians and the Thaelmann Pioneers he is discovered and finally held at bay by the border soldiers: "This man is a murderer. He has shot a border assistant to death. The comrade died an hour ago."<sup>24</sup>

The negative figure of the Western agent has a multiple function in children's and GDR literature in general: it is personified illustrative material for the evil of the system on behalf of which the agent is acting. It is further a summons and stimulus for socialist vigilance against everything that is suspicious, against all that does not conform with the social norm. And moreover, the agent is a warning and deterrent for the reader against committing actions which might bring him into conflict with the social laws and thus might expose him to the reproach of being a puppet for the West himself. For example, one such punishable and abominable crime is fleeing from the republic or the attempt to do so. The following passage is to be understood mainly as a warning to the reader in the GDR about fleeing over the wall and death strip:

"The border was secured with obstacles which are difficult to get by and observation towers, it was manned with armed sentries; there were searchlights and alarm systems, vehicles and a concrete road, on which reinforcements could be brought up quickly if necessary. Never would a group of saboteurs succeed in penetrating the national border and advancing into the hinterland. Indeed, a while back such things had still existed. But today? The company's section of border had become impenetrable."<sup>25</sup>

The GDR's national border with the West is frequently the framework of action in children's literature. Primarily two kinds of things can be accomplished specifically from the military-educational aspect:

1. Confrontation with the class enemy is--at least potentially--given directly. Irreconcilable (antagonistic) contradictions can be constructed and represented more easily. Maxims of socialist education can be realized from the contents in an especially convincing manner.
2. Military units and individual soldiers can be represented in action at the border during peace as well. The illustrative contents and orientations conveyed here point the imagination, desire for action and consciousness of the child reader in a direction which conforms to the GDR's educational goals.

In his book "Who Knows Weigeler" Karl-Heinz Raepfel introduced the historic dimension in addition; it takes place along the national border with the West.<sup>26</sup> In a cleverly knit story the child learns that soon after the end of the war there was the need to secure the line of demarcation with the West using armed East German forces against "war criminals," "capitalists" and "bandits".<sup>27</sup> The situation here at the border is not a game, but a class struggle." The Soviet liaison officer confirms: 'Front!'<sup>28</sup> An armed border crosser, whom cooperating Soviet and East German sentries held at bay in the winter 1946-1947 "is a former senior group leader of the weapons SS. During the war he commanded a firing squad in the Ukraine which murdered hundreds of innocent people, mostly women and children."<sup>29</sup>

The props which are normal in such cases are brought out of his luggage: "Bundles of banknotes cover the bottom of the suitcase. On top is the photograph of a man in an SS uniform, wearing the Knight's Cross, one of the highest fascist decorations."<sup>30</sup>

The black-white drawing in this book culminates when the mayor of a border village, "a rather old comrade, former prisoner in the Buchenwald concentration camp,"<sup>31</sup> is killed in 1947 by a "fascist band" which operates out of the American zone: "In the night...armed men broke into the communal administrative office, dragged the mayor and his wife from their beds, bound and gagged the woman and murdered the husband before her eyes."<sup>32</sup>

Under the impact of this deed two youths, 10 years old at the time (1947!), members of the FDJ's children's group, the precursor organization of the Pioneers, and equipped with truly prophetic gifts, pass "a law which is to be put into effect as the first law when they are running the government: a high wall is to be built along the border so that murderers no longer can escape unpunished to the American zone."<sup>33</sup>

With the use of penetrating clichés the link with the present is established. "'Yes,' said Paul Konrad (author's note: a former border policeman) into the soft crackling of the flames and turned to the border official (author's note: who together with the Pioneer brigade had listened to his report around the campfire), 'that's how it was then.... But we learned it, the compound multiplication of border service and the class struggle. And I would like to assume you are controlling it today just as we did then. Or better.'"<sup>34</sup>

The Federal Border Police is included in the image of the enemy which has been constructed. "Specific provocations" can be expected from him which "are to be answered in kind." "Extreme vigilance is thus always required."<sup>35</sup>



This hypothetical statement is not the end of it: two officials of the Federal Border Police are apprehended as border violators. "The intruders stopped, surprised. They did not dare offer any resistance."<sup>36</sup>

The strands of the plot from the past and the present are joined together in this book by the charge issued to several border soldiers and the Pioneer brigade there to round out the "material about the history of the company and the development of the village in the past 30 years"<sup>37</sup> to be kept in the unit's tradition room. Thus, the action, presented in the manner of the wild west, of the first postwar years assumes in the consciousness of the child reader a pseudo-documentary character.

The central characters also correspond to the time levels in the plot structure; they are all sketched as positive heroes--and thus as models--within the meaning of the theory of socialist realism.

Erwin Weigeler, the title hero of the book, is a representative of the founding years of the GDR with an illustrated book biography. His father was a worker, a communist, a concentration camp prisoner and was driven to death by the Nazis as a soldier of delinquent battalion 999. Weigeler himself, as a young soldier in World War II, utilized the first opportunity to go over to the Red Army. While in prison he went to antifascist school, after his return he became an FDJ training leader, joined the SED, at the end of 1946 switched to the police out of his convictions and performed his border service full of self-sacrifice and "truly devoted to our cause." Weigeler as a border policeman was decisively involved in the arrest of the SS-senior unit leader and other enemies of the new order, he avenged the murder of the mayor and many other extensively described offenses by rendering the criminal elements along the border harmless through untiring effort. Thus, from the vantage point of today, Weigeler occupies the role of the experienced and deserving comrade from the initial years of the GDR who was steeled in the class struggle.

His parallel among today's readers is Corporal Ronald Hoelzlein, previously a hard-working construction worker in Berlin. After initial, but solvable (nonantagonistic) problems he is promoted to sergeant because of his solidness and preparedness and his unshakable political consciousness. As a sentry leader he had held at bay the two members of the Federal Border Police. The similarity to Weigeler is enormous. Hoelzlein, as the positive heroes in other children's books, also arouses the sympathy of the smart Pioneer directress; an image in GDR children's literature which has disintegrated into a cliché.

For the educational intent of the book no children characters from the 1940's are required as objects of identification. The development has progressed further. For the here and now in the consciousness of the reader there are the 12-year olds Sasha and Tobias. The two of them are zealous Pioneers with functions and willingness. Their initial rivalry ends in in friendship and cooperation. One is the son of the captain in command at the border section and is marked to be an officers' school student, the other the son of a work brigade leader. At the end of the book both are found to be worthy to be the first to visit the former border policeman and several-times activist Erwin Weigeler whom they tracked down with a great deal of effort. Ronald Hoelzlein, the deserving border policeman of the young generation, and the Pioneer directress are also present. The circle is complete. Past and present are linked.

Socialist military education is transmitted not only via the content, but also by the language. After a song recital by the Pioneers in the barracks, 12-year old Sasha steps forward: "Comrade Corporal, I make my report: Hinterwald Pioneer brigade is back from Lake Birk. Your orders were carried out. Werner Seelenbinder brigade visited, greetings conveyed as ordered."<sup>39</sup>

So that the child can also generalize the insights gained from the entertaining books, can store them in his consciousness and translate them into models of behavior and convictions, nonfiction books on the same topic provide larger contexts:

#### The Enemy At Our Border

Along the national borders with the FRG and West Berlin our border soldiers stand directly across from the class enemies and thus always carry on the class struggle right at the front. In this it is immaterial whether the enemies of our worker and farmer state face them with open brutality or with concealed anticommunist machinations. The enemy constantly tries to stir up unrest at the border with various methods. Border securing installations are destroyed or damaged and our soldiers are insulted from across the border. In the direct vicinity of the border itself inflammatory rallies are held at which the abolition of the border is demanded."<sup>40</sup>

#### Loyalty and Hate

Unconditional loyalty and preparedness in respect to party and state and hate in respect to Western social orders are the fundamental maxims of socialist education in general and of military education in particular. Thus, at the 10th SED Party Congress in April of this year Erich Honecker said: "Youth must be ready and able to represent our ideas aggressively, to defend the accomplishments of socialism, to defend the socialist fatherland against every enemy and at all times."<sup>41</sup>

Earlier Honecker had written that the young soldier will be able to successfully fulfill his tasks in any situation only if he has precise knowledge of imperialism, its goals and intentions (author's note: as the party conveys them to him), if he hates the enemy with the same passion and conviction as he loves his friend and trusts him."<sup>42</sup>

Army general and Minister of Defense Heinz Hoffmann found: "The most important thing (author's note: for the young person in the GDR) is that he be filled to the brim with his class duty and class honor and defend this socialist state which offers him such a life, such a future!"<sup>43</sup>

And again and again hate: "The working class cannot manage in its struggle without hate. Yet it is a morally justified hate.... This hate is aimed against the imperialist system which historically survives, which is misanthropic and reactionary."<sup>44</sup>

In "The Wonderful Years," which was written by Reiner Kunze when he was still living in the GDR, in the chapter "Children of Peace" there is the following passage:

#### "Six Year Old

He pierces play soldiers with pins. He sticks them in their stomach until the point comes out the back. He sticks them in the back until the point comes out the chest. They fall.

'And why these, exactly?'

'They are the others.'"<sup>45</sup>

#### Education For Peace?

Military education and education for peace are not considered a contradiction in terms in the GDR. Rather, both concepts, in addition to their contents, constitute a dialectic unity. Thus, "the policy of peaceful coexistence" is also defined "(as) a specific form of the class struggle...(and as) an element in the strategy and tactics of the struggle against imperialism."<sup>46</sup> The idea of peace also includes establishing and solidifying the image of the enemy.

Thus, for example, the young reader from age 12 on is given the reasons for building the wall on 13 August 1961 in the following way:

"In spring 1961 a situation had arisen which was an extraordinary threat to preserving world peace. The cold war against the socialist countries which was fanned by the imperialists had reached a high point. The West German militarists were acting in an especially aggressive manner. They believed their hour had come.

Thus, they prepared a military attack on the GDR. In an 'inner-German police action' they wanted, as their newspapers wrote, 'to march through the Brandenburg Gate with drums beating.'

With this they meant the border in Berlin which was open at the time....

At this moment the GDR slammed the door and avoided World War III. On this 13th day of August 1961 in Berlin, the capital city of the GDR, the antifascist protective wall to West Berlin was erected. The NVA, together with its Soviet comrades in arms and the workers militia, carried out this vital mandate of the party and government with the highest precision. The order to fight read: Save the peace. The armed forces of the GDR thus inflicted a decisive defeat on the imperialist enemy in West Berlin and the FRG. The attempt to eliminate our socialist GDR could be stopped."<sup>47</sup>

Because of communist ideology, the word "peace" is, in respect to its meaning, encumbered with contents and judgments which make it possible for the GDR to accord countries other than those of the socialist order the capability for lasting peace: "Peace can be permanently guaranteed only in a society which no longer relies on the private ownership of production means and on class antagonism."<sup>48</sup>

"Peace is beautiful.  
I can lie in the meadow  
And look up to the sky, without fear.  
Peace is beautiful.

Peace is beautiful  
The children can go to school  
And the parents to work.  
Peace is beautiful."<sup>49</sup>



The children's book "Sleeping Beauty Sits in the Pine Forest" concludes its informative and educational tour through the military system of the GDR with these verses. One can approve of this imploringly repeated "peace is beautiful" with its exemplary pictures. But not in connection with the text which preceded. And only if one ignores the unilateral determination of what peace is or has to be and who alone ostensibly protects it.

#### Design and Factual Information

In closing, a few brief comments on the illustrations. The scope and display of the picture in the books with narrative texts should contribute primarily to visualizing specific situations or courses of action. Their design and effect cannot always be termed good. Surely paper quality and costs play a role, for the books are as a rule offered at reasonable prices and are supposed to create a large circle of readers via the language. (Carefully arranged dissemination through school and public book stores does its best.) In regard to the illustrations there are exceptions when the intent is to reach the smaller child from about 5 years of age on (example "Sleeping Beauty"). In that case the picture (appropriate for a child) is given a large amount of space.

The situation is different in the case of illustrative and graphic material in books which attempt to achieve their goal by disseminating findings and knowledge, the goal being "the development of convictions, outlooks, characteristics within the meaning of the communist worldview and morals."<sup>50</sup> In these, the 9-year and older reader is offered socialist military education on relatively good paper through facts that are accompanied by extensive and vivid illustrations, which in terms of printing technology are costly, with no claims to artistry. The type of tank in the NVA, which is "equipped with the Soviet tanks which are superior to the enemy," is introduced as "Our Fatty."<sup>51</sup> A two-page color drawing of the "Fatty" with 26 factual explanations is included.<sup>52</sup> The reader can also become familiar, for example, with the submarine defense cruiser "Moscow"<sup>53</sup> and the "Mig 21 interceptor plane."<sup>54</sup>

"Military toys from our socialist countries"<sup>55</sup> presented in pictures are supposed to evoke wishes. Insignia, medals, decorations, flags and uniforms of the socialist armies in full color naturally must not be left out. For the most part they occupy several pages.<sup>56</sup>

Beyond that, the child reader is given very detailed information about the branches of the service and their subsectors, training, including topography. The sketches, pictures, photographs, drawings (right on up to the explanation of tactical symbols and combat boxes<sup>57</sup>) are supposed to guarantee in the disseminating both "scientific character, adherence to the party line, solidarity with life" and "vividness, comprehensibility, skill, practicality and durability."<sup>58</sup>

#### Summary

In summarizing, it may be stated that children's books with a military educational objective have their central place and their clearly outlined task in the production

objective have their central place and their clearly outlined task in the production of children's books in the GDR. They are an integral part of the general GDR conception of education which is intended to awaken in the child "the love for the socialist fatherland, solidarity and the feeling of friendship toward the peoples of the USSR and other socialist countries, intransigence vis-a-vis imperialism (as well as) preparedness and the capability for general strengthening and for armed protection of his own fatherland and the entire socialist community,"<sup>59</sup> to develop this and to translate it into models of behavior and action.

Children are supposed "to acquire that knowledge and knowhow which comprise the prerequisite for regarding military service as a component in the personal life plan."<sup>60</sup> The goals and contents of socialist military education in the GDR are prescribed by the applicable legal norms (constitution, youth law, and so on) and political norms (SED party program, Pioneer laws, SED party congress resolutions, and so on).

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Sing Along, Pioneers! Songbook of the Young Pioneers," 3rd ed., Leipzig, 1974 p 34.
2. Ibid., p 36.
3. Walter Fiegel, "My Commander," in "The Seven Brothers," by authors' collective, 3rd ed., East Berlin, Junge Welt Publishing Co, 1979, p 27; for readers 9 years and older.
4. "Dictionary for Socialist Youth Policy," East Berlin, Dietz Publishing Co, 1975, p 264.
5. Karl-Heinz Kaoppel, "Oilet Maneuver," in "Martin and the Sun in the Closet," by authors' collective, 2nd ed., East Berlin, Junge Welt Publishing Co, 1981, p 40 f.; for readers 9 years and up.
6. Gerd Eggers and Gisela Noeder, "Sleeping Beauty Sits in the Pine Forest," East Berlin, Junge Welt Publishing Co, 1979, p 5; for readers 5 years and up.
7. Ibid., p 12.
8. Ibid., p 13.
9. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 28 February/1 March 1981.
10. Op. cit. (footnote 6), p 19.
11. Ibid., p 29.
12. Guenter Milde, "Our National People's Army," 2nd ed., East Berlin, Kinderbuch Publishing Co, 1981, p 130; for readers 12 and older.

13. Quoted from: "Martin and the Sun in the Closet," by authors' collective, op.cit. (footnote 5), p 22.
14. Viktoria Ruika-Franz and Konrad Golz, "Mrs Sonne Wanders Through the City," 2nd ed., East Berlin, Junge Welt Publishing Co, 1981, pp 12 and 20; for readers 6 years and older.
15. Ibid., p 3.
- 15a. Military education is even more systematic for children over 14 and youth: obligatory military instruction in classes 9 and 10 in all general schools, professional schools and recently also in the 11th class of the expanded secondary schools, military science, military athletic exercises and recruiting for the NVA in the FDJ's youth organization and in the GST.
16. Siegfried Dietrich, "The Night of the Trial," 4th ed., East Berlin, Kinderbuch Publishing Co, 1981, p 92; for readers 10 years and older.
17. Ibid., p 105 f.
18. "Dictionary for Socialist Youth Policy," op. cit. (footnote 4), p 257.
19. Ingmar Dreher, "Children's Literature and Communist Education," in EINHEIT, No 9, 1977, p 1112.
20. Siegfried Dietrich, "When the Ice Breaks," 2nd ed., East Berlin, Kinderbuch Publishing Co, 1980; for readers 10 years and older.
21. Ibid., p 129 f.
22. Gerd Eggers and Gisela Roeder, op.cit. (footnote 6), p 24.
23. Siegfried Dietrich, "The Night of the Trial," op.cit. (footnote 20), p 134.
24. Ibid., p 167.
25. Ibid., p 16 f.
26. Karl-Heinz Raepfel, "Who Knows Weigeler?" 3rd ed., East Berlin, Kinderbuch Publishing Co, 1981; for readers 11 years and older.
27. Ibid., p 52.
28. Ibid., p 66.
29. Ibid., p 65.
30. Ibid., p 64.
31. Ibid., p 55.

32. Ibid., p 79.
33. Ibid., p 80.
34. Ibid., p 66 f.
35. Ibid., p 85.
36. Ibid., p 112.
37. Ibid., p 43.
38. Ibid., p 137.
39. Ibid., p 13 f.
40. Guenter Wilde, op.cit. (footnote 12), p 102.
41. Erich Honecker, "Report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th SED Party Congress," East Berlin, Dietz Publishing Co, 1981, p 99.
42. Erich Honecker, "For the Sure Protection of Socialism," in "Reliable Protection of Socialism. Selected Speeches and Writing on the SED's Military Policy," East Berlin, Dietz Publishing Co, 1972, p 130.
43. Quoted from: Lothar Glass and Alwin Loos, "Military Morale and Soldiers' Ethos in Socialism," East Berlin, GDR Military Publishing House, 1975, p 162 f.
44. Ibid., p 74.
45. Reiner Kunze, "The Wonderful Years. Prose," Frankfurt/Main, Fischer Publishing Co, 1976, p 9.
46. "Dictionary for Socialist Youth Policy," op.cit. (footnote 4), p 83 f.
47. Guenter Wilde, op.cit. (footnote 12), p 28.
48. "Little Political Dictionary," 3rd ed., East Berlin, Dietz Publishing Co, 1978, p 255.
49. Cerd Eggers and Gisela Roeder, op.cit. (footnote 6), p 30.
50. Gerhard Neuner and others, "Pedagogy, Joint Work by Members and Staff Workers of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences and the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, East Berlin, Volk and Wissen Publishing Co, 1978, p 135.
51. "The Seven Brothers," op.cit. (footnote 3), p 43.
52. Ibid., p 44 f.
53. Ibid., p 51 ff.

54. Ibid., p 59 ff.
55. Ibid., p 64 f.
56. For example, "The Seven Brothers," op.cit. and in: "Our National People's Army," op.cit. (footnote 12), 14 large size pages each.
57. For example, in Milde, op,cit., p 125 ff.
58. Compare in this connection: "Didactic Principles," in "Pedagogy," op.cit. (footnote 50), p 250 ff.
59. "Pedagogy," op.cit., p 150 f.
60. "Pedagogy," op.cit., p 151.

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## WRITERS FEDERATION MEETS, ELECTS OFFICERS

### Assembly Comment

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Dec 81 p 3

[Text] The Federation of Hungarian Writers held its general assembly on 12 and 13 December in Budapest at the headquarters of the 13th District Committee of the MSZMP. Those on the presidium, in addition to outstanding personalities of our literary life, were Gyorgy Aczel, deputy premier and member of the Political Committee, Miklos Ovari, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, Imre Pozsgay, minister of culture, Mihaly Kornidesz, a Central Committee department chief, and Dezso Toth, deputy minister of culture. Representatives of the associated federations, fine arts organizations and the press were present as invited guests of the general assembly.

Tibor Cseres opened the general assembly of the federation which now has 537 members, an assembly to elect new officers and modify the bylaws. He read a message sent to the general assembly by Gyula Illyes, absent for reasons of health, in which the writer wished good work to those gathered together. Tibor Cseres paid his respects to the colleagues who had died in the past 5 years and this was followed by one minute of silence.

After the agenda was announced Imre Dobozy, president of the writers' federation, supplemented the written general assembly report. The document previously given to the membership designated as the immediate task of the general assembly a survey of the production of Hungarian literature in the past 5 years, preparation of a balance of literary public life and, on the basis of this, an outlining of the future tasks of Hungarian writers, Hungarian literature and the writers' federation.

In his presidential address Imre Dobozy said that the literary process today is characterized by a lively appetite for debate, an enterprising spirit and a desire for a vital exchange of ideas. The essence of this process is not a competition of various stylistic aspirations but rather a polarization of creative views and behaviors. For the most part all this supports a regeneration of domestic public thinking as a whole. The generation of prose writers and poets which got its start at the end of the 1960's has been integrated into our literature amidst debates. The subject of the debates was the differing historical experience, view of the world and life conception of this generation. The continuity of literary traditions became a question. This was manifested in the fact that an appropriate



intellectual connection and organizational link did not develop between the generations working side by side. In connection with social questions the president of the writer's federation spoke of the multiplying problems of recent years which concern writers and politicians alike and stimulate them to action within their own possibilities.

To make them easier to review let us look at the debate grouped according to the several themes.

### Writers and Society

Gyula Fekete spoke first about the social problems which affect writers also. According to him, "we are writers of one of the most quickly aging societies in the world, of a people which "is ingeniously destroying itself." Of those who responded Pal Pandi did not agree with this formulation. In his opinion it is not possible to do society-building work with such a "tragic self-view." Gyula Hernadi saw the solution in a comprehensive introduction of an enterprising socialism which would force back the causes of "self-destruction" by increasing the degree of freedom of the Hungarian people and the effectiveness of their work. The economic difficulties which can be experienced in culture can be cured in the same way. Sandor Scoori pointed out that it would be advantageous for both society and our literary-artistic life to recognize the initiative strength of those 30 to 40 years old because future politics will need their activity. Imre Bata expressed a similar opinion when he emphasized the importance and timeliness of public life participation by writers in general.

Starting from the experiences of development since 1945 Ivan Vitanyi expressed the desire that contemporary literature also should rise in significance along side economics and social science by contrasting ideals with reality. Andras Mezei spoke of the role writers had and could have in preparing and supporting the reforms. If this activity is to be successful then naturally there is a need for expanding the freedom of movement of literature. Istvan Csorsz called attention to the fact that the situation of teen-agers today is a burning social problem also; thus far literature has failed to deal with this. Mihaly Czine emphasized in his comment that such basic social questions as, for example, population growth require not so much debate as quick measures. Finally, he urged that every strength of our society cooperate under the sign of the quality principle.

### Our Literature in the World

Miklos Hubay took up in the debate the world literary role of our literature, a theme mentioned in the general assembly report. The credit of this potentially great literature, he said, is lower than it merits although more than ever before the world may need the many centuries' experiences of a small literature, the Hungarian one. Because, "mankind is just now measuring the depth of its grave, but we are old experts"--in the struggle for existence.

The president of the Authors' Legal Defense Office, Dr Mihaly Ficsor, provided data on the foreign reception of our literature. Between 1961 and 1980 the number of foreign contracts signed for publication of Hungarian works increased almost three times, in both socialist and capitalist countries. We must note, however, that the selections of western publishers are influenced by certain political considerations so some worthy works are forced into the background.

In a look beyond the borders Miklos Veress emphasized that writers in Hungary should have a spiritual community with their Hungarian colleagues living in Central Europe.

Sara Karig dealt with the problems of translators. Those in the profession are getting older and there are deficiencies in their material-moral recognition and interest protection. Gyorgy Rado, editor of the journal of the International Federation of Translators, recommended that we not measure ourselves by the literature of the great languages but rather by the smaller ones; among the latter we are really in the front rank. He proposed that a few of our larger publishers receive independent export rights to disseminate foreign language works abroad. Lajos Orvos spoke of the importance of personal contracts and the foreign presence of writers and asked if it would not be useful if Hungarian writers could live in a foreign language area for 2-3 years. Janos Sebeok, Margit Gaspar and Janos Korossenyi read essays about the mission of writers--with respect to world history and world literature.

### The State of Our Literature

According to Dezso Keresztury it appears in the written report that the writers' federation is not taking cognizance sufficiently of either social or literary changes. One reason for this is that the self-awareness of our literature is very small, lacking situation surveys and substantive debates. There is no literary reflection of our intellectual changes; we have no standard by which to evaluate with assurance the works and experiments of modern realism or the bearded avant-garde. The uncultured nature of our newer literature is striking; there are young writers who cannot even formulate an idea decently. The flowering of our literature appears rather in quantity. Dezso Keresztury said that we should look differently at the political role of writers, clarify the new relationship of literature and politics, because the political leadership not only tolerates but needs the understanding opinion of the writers.

Istvan Eorsi spoke of the problems of a swift and sure recognition of intellectual values and made an "unpopular proposal" concerning the introduction of censorship. Miklos Hubay gave a passionate description of the state of Hungarian drama. The theaters--with the National Theater at their head--are indifferent and superciliously uninterested in this art. But the presentation of a living dramatic literature is an indispensable element of national self-awareness and social catharsis.

Geza Paskandi spoke of literary courage and the effect of literature. Creators must strive to participate in democratization as a third intellectual persona together with politics and science. There is no formula for making the intellect "publicly useful." The writers may take many paths to increase their social respect. Sandor Czoori also stated his faith in toughness, dignity, the ability to think and the willingness to criticize. Taking aim at petty differences on organizational questions he said: "Separately we are somebody, but together we are less than ourselves, less than our own chances."

Pal Pandi asked for the cooperation in the name of trust of writers professing different views. He emphatically asserted that neither the possession of a party card nor partaking in opposition political action can be the basis for an esthetic upgrading. At the same time it would be incorrect to "solve" conflicts with administrative tools; there is need for mutual tolerance, otherwise,

"intellectual life will be irretrievably addled." Imre Bata also spoke for a continuation of our disputes; he regarded "narcissism" and "neurasthenia" as among the chief faults of our young literature.

Mihaly Czine deplored the absence of living literary material and a portrayal of society in our central journals. He said that school instruction does not contribute to the education of new readers; 19th and 20th century Hungarian literature is being forced out of the study plans. He gave examples of how the popular front policy is realized less in literature and readers; he meditated on the lack of qualified readers and the critical neglect of existing popular literature.

#### Book Publishing, Income, Publications

The first speaker in the debate, Janos Erdody, noted that the press situation requires urgent improvement. As proof he showed a Hungarian book with two title pages from 25,000 copies of which the wrong title page had to be razed out--after being shipped back and forth. He again recommended the creation of a writers' committee to study the insupportable relationship of publishers, presses and distribution. He said that the first task is for Hungary to have shops which print books. Imre Komuves criticized the editors of the Hungarian Literary Encyclopedia for their decades of neglect in postponing publication of a supplementary volume containing 1,003 entries.

According to Gyula Fekete not only is the press through-put time intolerably long so is the editing by the publishers. As for honoraria, wages were increased significantly in the past decade for all other professions but according to the records of the Literary Fund the average income from works decreased even nominally. Just as inequitable are royalties and taxes, which are most severe for writers "in the entire private sector." Gyula Fekete sees in all this signs of a deliberate discrimination against writers. In contrast to this Gyula Hernadi pointed out that only a fraction of the writers are self-employed and in the present economic system they actually enjoy the advantages of state supports which provide a comfortable living. Sarolta Raffai expressed gratitude for that support which a publishing director with initiative offered her and her generation in their time.

Several asked why the writers' federation still has no journal or publisher of its own as in other socialist countries. Sandor Fekete doubted that the writers "were being forced into the background deliberately" indeed, according to him, "sometimes the state courts some writers excessively." He did not consider it a central question that the writers' federation should have its own journal. The existence of such a journal does not prove the democratization of literary life. There was talk of starting a new literary weekly, in the comments of Ferenc Kiss, Imre Takacs and Laszlo Gyurko, among others.

#### Concerning Organizational Questions

A modification of the bylaws of the writers' federation was on the agenda of the general assembly. The draft of the new bylaws included, among other things, the creation of a Presidium elected by secret vote from among the members of the elected committee, which would be the supreme guiding organ of the federation



between sessions of the elected committee, the creation of an Interest Protection and Ethics Committee, a legal adjustment of tasks connected with the Attila Jozsef Circle and a redefinition of operational conditions for local groups.

First Secretary Gabor Garai, reporting on the draft, looked back over the past 5 years. He noted that the federation was not able to become a second home or natural meeting place for writers. The communal life of the writing community must be organized with more ingenuity. According to Miklos Meszoly one of the chief tasks of the writers' federation should be protection of the creative workshops. He found the present system of special departments too rigid. He recommended that the writers' federation should gather together, as a summit organ, the literary groupings which come into being spontaneously. Dezso Keresztury recognized the merits of the poetry special department but added that in the other special departments they were carrying out routine "setting-up exercises."

Akos Szilagyi called this year's most critical crisis of the Attila Jozsef Circle of beginning writers unavoidable. According to him the obsolete literary-cultural institutional system, which does not correspond to the spirit of the present reform policy, is incapable of "walling up" the conflicts. He urged the socialization of existing institutions, finding a balance between state guidance and initiatives coming from below. Gabor Czako criticized the elected committee of the writers' federation in harsh tones. He recommended that the general assembly meet more frequently and that the bylaws specify that elected persons and organs can be recalled. Pal Pandi did not approve of the proposal pertaining to smaller groupings within the federation. In his opinion those incapable of working together in a common institution should "count themselves out."

Peter Dobai thought it would be correct if there were fewer representative people in the future elected committee, and more dynamic, active personalities.

Geza Paskandi felt that the present frameworks of the writers' federation should be filled out more. A number of practical questions were brought up also, such as including megye leaders and representatives of science in the work of the writers' federation, creating a sponsoring membership, precise regulation of contacts maintained with the PEN Club, the Literary Fund and the Authors' Legal Defense Office, and protection of interests against the import of entertainment works. Several recommended that an old tradition be continued, that great writers should be members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Mihaly Sukosd said that the federation might be a forum for the debate of works. Zoltan Fabian, secretary of the writers' federation, and Tibor Zam dealt with the situation of provincial writers. They both asked for more effective support for the seven provincial writers' groups. Miklos Zelei, KISZ secretary of the writers' federation, warned that one should not wait while problems pile up. The campaigns and "counter-campaigns" connected with young writers both show that the federation is not working continually and satisfactorily. Like Miklos Veress and others, he said that it was essential that we watch and support the Hungarian literature of neighboring countries--with the means at our disposal.

The procedural debate of the bylaws modification was prolonged and heated, and incomprehensible for the great majority. Those speaking were Geza Molnar (serving his turn as president of the general assembly), Eszter Anoka, Gyorgy Asperjan, Laszlo Benjamin, Ivan Boldizsar, Ambrus Bor, Gabor Czako, Gyory Dalos,



Imre Dobozy, Peter Esterhazy, Andras Fodor, Zsuzsa Kartal, Peter Renyi, Mihaly Varkonyi, Zoltan Vas and, finally Sandor Tatay. The incidents were returned to the next day by Sandor Fekete, Laszlo Gyurko, Istvan Lazar, Arpad Papp, Jozsef Solymer and--in a spirit of self-criticism--Gyorgy Spiro.

On the second day Miklos Jovanovics presented the draft resolution to the general assembly. There was a comment by Agoston Szekelyhidi. He wanted the writers' federation to carry out public culture activity more deliberately. Gyorgy Nemes and Szilveszter Ordogh recommended making the text of the document more precise and trustworthy.

The general assembly accepted the draft bylaws modification and proposed resolution. It authorized the elected committee to formulate and approve the final text, taking into consideration the recommended changes.

Secretary Andras Fodor presented a preliminary list for the new elected committee of the writers' federation, consisting of 69 names. In the subsequent debate the participants in the general assembly voted to add 28 names. After a closing word by Imre Dobozy the following writers were elected by secret vote to the elected committee of the Federation of Hungarian Writers:

Tamas Barany Imre Bata, Miklos Beladi, Istvan Bella, Laszlo Benjamin, Bulcsu Bertha, Gyorgy Bodnar, Ferenc Buda, Gabor Czako, Mihaly Czine, Gyula Csak, Imre Csanadi, Tibor Cseres, Sandor Csorai, Gyozo Csorba, Istvan Csurka, Peter Dobai, Imre Dobozy, Matyas Domokos, Zoltan Fabian, Gyula Fekete, Andras Fodor, Janos Foldeak, Erzsebet Galgoczi, Istvan Gall, Gabor Garai, Arpad Goncz, Gyula Hernadi, Miklos Hubay, Mihaly Illa, Endre Illes, Gyula Illyes, Anna Jokai, Miklos Jovanovics, Ferenc Juhasz, Laszlo Kalnoky, Ferenc Karinthy, Geza Kepes, Dezso Keresztury, Imre Kis-Pinter, Benedek Kiss, Laszlo Lator, Ervin Lazar, Ivan Mandy, Miklos Meszoly, Andras Mezse, Gabor Mocsar, Geza Molnar, Gaspar Nagy, Agnes Nemes-Nagy, Szilveszter Ordogh, Geza Raskandi, Sandor Rakos, Endre Rozsa, Ferenc Santa, Andras Simonffy, Istvan Soter, Gyorgy Spiro, Magda Szabo, Karoly Szakonyi, Gyorgy Szaraz, Gyula Takacs, Sandor Tatay, Jzsef Tornai, Istvan Vas, Miklos Veress, Endre Veszi and Sandor Weores.

The elected committee held its first meeting after the general assembly, it elected a seven member nominating committee by secret vote which will recommend people for offices at the next session.

#### Minister of Culture Speech

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Dec 81 p 4

[Speech by Minister of Culture Pozsgay Imre]

[Text] I greet every participant in today's meeting in the name of the Ministry of Culture. Knowing the documents of the general assembly and having heard the president's report I would like to express briefly a few ideas about the inter-dependencies of social and literary life, about the present state of our homeland and about the possibilities for common action.

An atmosphere of anxiety already surrounded the previous general assembly. Then we could only guess what we have been convinced of since, that the policy of peaceful

coexistence and an economic flowering do not proceed on an unbroken path. We can see that the cold war can arise again, the crisis of the world economy can deepen and all this can shake entire societies, East and West alike. The relations of countries, nations, classes and individuals are changing, for the most part getting worse. The feeling is beginning to spread that there is nothing which is not in doubt. People are asking where those ideals are which will provide orientation, in everyday life as in regard to more distant prospects.

Because it lacerates one and shakes the situation of the individual it is our priority interest that the paralyzing cold war come to an end, that the Soviet Union and the United States sit down at the conference table and that, responding rationally to the Soviet peace initiatives, mankind, ready to jump, be permitted to straighten up, easing this cosmic stuffiness.

The ship of Hungary must be steered between the rocks of the cold war and a world economic depression with the critical condition of some of our neighbors around us and in the shadow of the Polish tragedy towering above our heads. The security of our historically given and natural alliance contacts is provided by the world recognized power of the friendly Soviet Union but only we ourselves can create our own security and the internal tranquility necessary for development.

There is security and prosperity in our homeland. In the vicissitudinous world of today the value of Hungary has increased in the eyes of her citizens and in the eyes of the world alike. It is worth while and it is our obligation to watch over this value. In such a world the measure of patriotism can be nothing other than what we do for the protection and strengthening of socialist national unity.

The general assembly of the writers' association begins its deliberations under the sign of this responsibility. These are the questions we must consider when examining the elementary organizational questions of the functioning of the Federation, its public life role or the relationship of the writers and the state.

Contact and cooperation between the state and the Federation of Hungarian Writers are guided by the laws passed in regard to citizens and their organizations and associations and by other regulations deriving from them. There cannot be much debate about this in any society which recognizes and respects order. At such times the question really may be whether the state authorities really acted legally, according to law, and whether the law can be applied to state organs. I feel that in the time between the two general assemblies of the writers' federation there were no considerable problems in this matter. Both the state and the writers' federation obeyed the laws. They were not forced to actions beneath their dignity. They behaved with dignity even in disputed situations when the more severe tools of law had to be applied in the interest of regulated operation and continuing the designated path. It was thus even at the time of the suspension of the FIJAK [Attila Jozsef Circle of Young Writers].

I consider much more important than this the question of what type of relationship there is between the state and the writers, between the writers and politics, which represents the content of the state. Who could deny that the extent of this link is much greater than the frameworks of the writers' federation. That is to say, writers, like everybody else, enter into a relationship with the state and with politics primarily as citizens. So if we are talking about the public life activity of the writers then they must prove their eminence primarily as citizens, and not as members of the writers' federation. Many institutions of society must

be used to this end, not only their own professional organization. Amidst these relationships the writers' federation is carrying out its task if it does not take captive and bind the writer to an internal apparent public life but rather the other way around, if it releases him into public life. A public life in which the literary experience and way of looking at things will be constantly tested, where he will be forced to clash with others' experience and way of looking at things.

Today's general assembly is an important event of Hungarian domestic political life, one of great significance in the course of the normal events of domestic political life. This series of events and a new domestic political cycle began with the 12th congress of the party, continued with the national assembly and council elections, the congresses of the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, the KISZ and various types of federations and the general assemblies of the artistic federations and other intellectual organizations. These forums were scenes for frank and responsible speech and they initiated new undertakings. It was characteristic of them that, remaining on the line of socialist development, they broadened and qualitatively improved publicity. Defending the position of the country, which is respected even internationally, they were able to turn criticism of society to the good of the homeland. They understood well that democracy means speaking up, participating and making decisions but that it presumes responsible citizens who know their own interests well and can represent them in an enlightened manner, rising above particularity.

The domestic political river of the past year and a half, carrying with it more than a little sediment, has created in human deportment and in social and national self-awareness new possibilities for the development of socialist democracy, has created human conditions for an institutional change in the wake of which--in a world becoming so poor in true communities--mature communities can come into being without tutelage, in the final analysis a socialist collectivist society on a national scale. Our economy, now marking time for world economic reasons, must be ready: if there is a possibility for new growth in 2-3 years, to go beyond the production of material goods and become a driving force for the creation of a community in Marx's sense of the word. In a truly communal society even individual initiative can have socialist content because, due to the communal definition of the state of affairs, the valuable aspirations of individual men will tend in the direction of collectivism instead of individualism.

Everything I have said is only a possibility, but it is a possibility the foundations of which have been laid with 25 years of successful policy and social-economic progress. The public life activity of the writer must fit into these possibilities. When I said above that literary public life is based primarily on citizen rights and responsibilities and that literary public life must clash with the public life of other domains of life I did not mean to narrow but rather to expand the social role of the writer.

A writer can have a role in public life which goes beyond the competence of a citizen if he is a true writer and can have an effect on the public with the weight of a respect growing out of his works. A really talented, good writer can use the historically inherited public life respect of Hungarian literature in just causes, applying it in a way which goes beyond his citizen existence. Only the word of such a writer has credibility, historical validity and a permanence which survives the moments of prosperity.



Democratic ethics and the principle of quality forbid that one should inquire into anyone's abilities when he wants to realize his competence and make use of his rights. But if he wants more than this then I can ask from what works he built that pedestal from which he wants to lord it over the other mortals.

It is in this spirit that we might begin, here at the general assembly, to re-think the role and functioning of the Federation. I think that the organization or writers should deal with more sharply defined tasks in a more circumscribed area and under better defined relationships than heretofore.

I would begin by asking, what is it that the writers' federation cannot do, and what is it that it can do? In the first place it cannot monopolize the public life role of the writers. Every writer-together with others--is responsible for the vital problems of the nation. But they realize this responsibility by making use of their talents as a writer in the most varied forums of publicity, in the press, by publishing books, using the tools of mass communication and, not least of all, in the party, the youth federation, the Patriotic People's Front, the national assembly, the local councils, the trade unions and in the institutions of place of work democracy--each according to his world view and political convictions. The federation cannot be a workshop because from the viewpoint of creation an organization consisting of 550 writers, critics and translators is only an illusory community. Real communities and workshops can come into being in editorial offices and publishing houses organized to represent a jointly assumed cause in this typically individualistic career.

Now let me say that the role of the writers' federation can still be greater than it has been if it undertakes better suiting its possibilities, and receives support in this from the state organs. I consider, before all else, the systematic and methodical collection of the public life or political experiences of writers to be such a task, synthesizing them in open debates in the elected committee or at the general assembly. It would be good if the writers' federation were not the public life hedgehog of the writers but rather one public life position among the many possible where experiences are gathered together and used as ammunition for the ever reappearing social raids.

Let us talk about the matters which have to be straightened out.

I believe that the interest protection and interest representation functions of the writers' federation could be increased, and the Ministry of Culture offers its aid in this in a spirit of sincere partnership.

The role of the Federation in the Publishing Council and the role of writers in the several publishing houses, as work shops, must be clarified and restored. The publishers should be made to give an account of their work done in the interest of Hungarian literature.

The structure of journals and periodicals should be examined; publishing and editing principles must be harmonized with the interests of writers and readers.

The Ministry, jointly with the Federation, should take definite steps to improve the creative cooperation of writers and theaters, film studios, press, radio and television.



Appropriate measures must be taken to develop the social and official recognition of the creative work of writers on the basis of a socialist cultural policy under the sign of talent, value and quality.

The Federation should see to the continual improvement of conditions for creation and of the living conditions of writers and should see to the development of cooperation between the Federation and the Literary Fund. The ministry should provide the legal conditions for this.

It is timely to improve the information system for writers.

The creators should be shown the respect of being able to meet with the leaders of the country in their own organization.

The political information of the writers should approximate the level at which decisions influencing the fate of the country are made. Being informed and having a clear view increase the awareness of responsibility; being uninformed makes one made and encourages resistance.

It must be known that the functioning of the state has no secrets--with exception of a narrow circle of state secrets which exist in every country--which have to be hidden from its citizens.

The role and responsibility of the Federation in organizing and conducting international contacts must be increased.

The material, objective and personal conditions for the functioning of the Federation must be improved. This can be done without increasing the budget too, if the officers (president, first secretary, secretaries) are not full time employees but rather social workers receiving honoraria. With the money saved in this way it would be possible to employ people to handle business matters.

Naturally, ideas connected with the activity of the writers' federation are shattered dreams if we ignore the relationship of the organization to the real world. More precisely, if we ignore the question of how all this fits in to the condition of the country today. The "Conditio Hungariae," the condition of Hungary, which is to say the whole, governs the movement of the parts today. Preserving the economic and political stability of our homeland has become the crucial question of the national future so among the particulars politics and the economy must be given first place in such a way that the movement of the parts--and this includes the most severe social criticism--should serve the stability of the former and the security of the entire country.

Cultural policy is a successfully working part of the life of the country--although it is not without contradictions. This policy, resting on its recognized success thus far, strives to formulate answers to the questions posed by the new situation while preserving fundamental principles. Cultural policy is an inseparable part of the party's policy. The personal commitment of those representing and guiding it, their joint responsibility assumed on the basis of common goals and their uniform action on the basis of the same intentions are the guarantee that our comrades and allies and our friends with a different world view should be reliably informed in regard to the intentions of the party and the actions of party and state organs.

Cultural policy, as a principle for guiding one of the important areas, wants to serve the secure progress of the entire country. We often hear today: "We must preserve our achievements, we must preserve the standard of living, we must keep up the level of education," etc. Rationality dictated by the situation requires all this. But let us not forget that a country cannot stand still: If we regard maintaining things as they are to be the whole thing, this is the same as sinking down. A country--however you define it--has not only an economic existence. Even in the midst of a forced economic stagnation or seeking an economic balance progress is possible in many areas. The idea of reform is not and cannot be apprehended in the world of the economy alone.

There is a possibility for intellectual building, preparing a reform plan for social progress on the basis of the program statement of the party, in which we can rethink ideas not yet thought through.

Can the writers find for themselves a public life and creative program in this? I believe they can. It is just that a few important questions must be reformulated.

Here are some examples.

How can writer and politician, literature and politics work together in the elimination of phenomena which degrade men, phenomena which arose or survived in the shadow of social transformation and prosperity, in the mitigation or elimination of the wounds caused by the rate of population growth, poverty, suicide or alcoholism?

How can we build further our friendship and cooperation with the peoples of eastern Europe, our allies given by nature and history, in such a way that each nationality is respected in its own homeland and shields its fate in its own interest? How can we come to an understanding with them that the survival and material and intellectual enrichment of Hungarians living beyond our borders is not simply a question of conscience for the area but also our common interest?

Enjoying the respect of the world, how can we see to it that there is also trust in the social and political development of the Hungarian nation in a mutual duality of homeland and progress?

For perhaps the first time in our history we have succeeded in exploiting a good chance for national construction and progress on the basis of socialism. We must not lose this chance and the advantage deriving from it. We must turn to the benefit of secure progress the fact that a country of beaten armies and lost wars has left behind the usual conquerors. Let us think, What can we do for ourselves, for our future?

In what can we trust? We can trust that a true writer is a man who has gone beyond appearances, who can grasp the essence behind the phenomenon, who believes in progress on the basis of his knowledge but according to his heart. The ability to go from appearance to reality, from phenomenon to essence is one which every talented writer can acquire and cultivate, in cooperation with those who also grasp the essence and espouse and promote social progress.

Dear comrades! My friends!

I would like on this occasion to express my sincere thanks to the officials of the federation for their cooperation, based on an open partner relationship but not lacking an honest critical tone. I especially greet the responsible work of comrades Imre Debozy and Gabor Garai, based on devotion to duty, building a community, a devoted struggle to organize a link between the writers and society.

I wish the general assembly good work and much success to the new leaders!

I hope, having spoken so early, that I will not be regarded as excluded from the debate; I hope rather that I will be regarded to the end as a participant who is sincerely interested in every thing said.

Miklos Ovari Speech

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Dec 81 p 5

[Text] I am authorized to transmit the greetings of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. This greeting goes to all those who have enriched Hungarian culture with their valuable literary creations and taken part, with their public life activity, in the common efforts of our people. The greeting and the support address those aspirations which place substantive work in the foreground, demand quality, conceive of democracy as the wise discussion of worthwhile questions and prefer principled debate to cynical manipulation, trust to tactics, openness to court politics and the interests of literature to the interests of a clique.

We support the aspiration to increase the respect of the writers' federation before its own membership and public opinion. Our political life does not need sham institutions; it needs organizations which work well. And we know that real respect is not given by a resolution, by sphere of authority or material assets but rather only by responsible, serious, successful work.

Do the conditions exist for the writers' federation to be a well functioning, respected organization? The external conditions are given. The social environment respects and loves culture. The political environment urges the development of socialist democracy, increasing the role of social organs. Finally, the federation is working in an economic environment which itself cannot develop without culture, which encourages respect for true values in every area, which supports every initiative pointing in the direction of socialism and which itself is based on the performance principle and thus differentiates according to value and strives to give greater recognition to value.

I agree with everything which comrade Imre Pozsgay said yesterday about the situation of the world and the country, about our responsibility following from this and about the role of the writers' federation. I do not want to repeat. What we ask is little in regard to the number of words but is much and difficult in regard to the weight of the words; we ask for support of the efforts of the people with the tools of literature. Undertaking this task is the honorable obligation of the Hungarian writers! I dare to use this hard expression because I am not talking about an obligation to the party or government but rather about self-sacrificing service to the interests of our people.



High quality work--and only high quality work--deserves recognition. Every wise word deserves attention. Trust is the answer to trust. In other words, it is our firm intention to continue our cultural policy the basic law of which, the *suprema lex*, is *salus rei publicae*. A free translation being, the salvation of the Hungarian People's Republic, or even more freely, the salvation of the community, service to the people.

We will continue that cultural policy which respects every value, which not only asks for the cooperation of culture, which cannot be replaced by anything else, but also uses it for the good of society.

We will continue that cultural policy which strives for broad cooperation with every honorably intentioned creator, thus one who keeps the interests of a people building socialism in view, and which for this very reason is ready for debate in the interest of bringing positions together and solving problems.

Finally, ensuring creative freedom is our unchanged aspiration. We never said that this freedom was unlimited. We do not say so now! Such a freedom exists nowhere in the world. There is need for selection according to value and according to the interests of the people, in the interest of quality also and according to political interests also. Because there are such interests. The writers' federation, if it takes its task seriously, will reckon with those interests too.

Someone voiced an absurd, ironical, I might say cynical idea: There should be censorship. I do not want to make the work of the responsible editors easier. They also have names, titles, guiding numbers, opinions and, indeed, responsibility. And I do not give up the hope that there are editors who not only publish or reject but also take responsibility, debate, encourage, place orders and, indeed, preside over the birth of masterworks.

I would like to speak briefly about the debate also--naturally not with the intention of summarizing it, because this is not my task. I was happy to hear a number of substantive contributions which analyzed real questions. But I was not happy that thus far there has been little said about work itself. Comrade Imre Pozsgay noted yesterday that other conferences preceded the general assembly of the writers' federation. Work received a central place at these conferences, including the general assemblies of the artistic federations. But here--and this makes me sad--there has been more talk about the literary life than about literature, more about organizational questions than about social questions. This makes me think--at least from the viewpoint of where we should seek the key to the solution of that certain "respect" problem.

Principled debates have an important characteristic, namely that they cannot be concluded by a word of authority or by majority vote. The only way to conclude such debates is a precise examination of the facts, a fundamental analysis of causes and consequences, an unprejudiced weighing of arguments and counter-arguments. Only in this way can progress be made step-by-step and solution found. I respect those debaters who formulate their positions unambiguously, for whom self-criticism has a place along side criticism, who dare doubt their own opinions as well as those of others, who carefully put on the balance the facts supporting an idea (or preconception) and those which may contradict it.

For example, I do not believe that I am the son of a crippled and sick people bent on self-destruction or suicide, fleeing into alcohol, wandering into exile. Nor do I believe that I serve a cultural policy which has long waged a "class struggle" against Hungarian literature with, it would appear, little effect since Hungarian literature lives and even produces no few masterworks.

Nor do I want to go to the other extreme. I know that there are alcoholics, suicides, people sick in mind and body--and not a few of them. If there is one that is too many for me! There may be faults in institutions too or in their functioning. We are not conservatives, and even less are we infallible. But let us not be unfair either! Let us not deny the achievements of our work--not mine or yours or his, but ours--the results of the efforts of our people. There are sick people, but the people are not preparing for death--they want to live! They want not only to live but also to work, much and at an improving level. And not only to work, but also to enjoy the results of their work.

If we want a serious debate on, for example, the question of the relationship between state and society, if we want debates which neither go up into the clouds nor conceal hidden intentions then we must unavoidably give a clear answer to the question, What sort of social system or political system do we live in, whose state is this state? And if we start from the position that our society is a society building socialism, that our state is the state of the people, then perhaps it will be easier to give an answer to the question of what rights and obligations the state of the people has.

To conclude, before this general assembly I would like to express my thanks to those who took up the burden of function before the general assembly and to those who will do so on behalf of the community and hopefully with its support. I wish them good work in taking care of the common business and I wish them success in their individual creative activities. I thank you for your attention.

#### Federation Resolution

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Dec 81 p 7

[Text] I.

The writers participating in the general assembly of the Federation of Hungarian Writers, with devotion to the indivisible cause of homeland and socialism, believing in the noble traditions of Hungarian literature and guided by a purpose of renewal, debated the timely tasks of our literary life.

We met in a world political situation heavy with crises. Not only does the danger of cold war and isolation threaten again but the spectre of the complete destruction of mankind stands before us in the picture of nuclear war. Protesting against the mental blindness which plays with the danger of world holocaust, we give voice to the desire and will of all of us for peace. Neither our homeland nor our broader native land, Europe, can be missing from the map of the future.



In the course of our deliberations we debated the workshop problems of literary creation and criticism. On the agenda were the problems of our transforming society, all those national problems which we are accustomed to call national vital questions. The majority of the speakers agreed that today also the execution of our economic plan and of our reforms is an indispensable condition for the unfolding of artistic creative freedom, creativity and imagination; we regard this as a great national program. Observations were voiced also that views which one-sidedly emphasize the primacy of economic tasks can hold back the appropriate realization of the social role of literature. In our opinion literature cannot be regarded as the dependent of or a function of the economy, and the significance of the role of the writer is not decreased by the fact that the structure of culture has been transformed. We are convinced that support of valuable literature will be a paying "investment" for a long time, because literary works are a force which form men, instill a world view and give moral strength.

## II.

The general assembly provided important advice to the newly elected committee as provisions for the journey. By way of strengthening literary autonomy the new leadership should make the writers' federation not only the carrier of interest representation but also an intimate workshop of literature. Under present conditions this means that the writers' federation must become a forum for orienting the writers. The elected committee should regard it as its task to constantly satisfy and enrich the increasing demand of the writers in regard to domestic political, public culture, economic and international information and the unvarnished exchange of views. With the sensitivity worthy of a writer we call attention to the alarming phenomenon--among many other symptoms--that in contrast to the demographic explosion which can be experienced in the world at large there is the danger of a stagnation or even a decline in the population growth of our homeland. The new elected committee should seek out and cultivate foreign literary contacts, especially with Hungarian writers living beyond our borders; it should deal with the reporting on and popularization of their works. It should help those creators who strive for a faithful, humanistic and critical portrayal of reality in the name of socialist ideals. It should keep in mind that writers are not interested in literature alone and especially are not inspired by literature alone but rather by reality. An ever fuller awareness of this and portrayal of it are the definer and guarantee of the important social role of the Hungarian writers. In this way literature can become a sharer in political development, because a literary creation is an amalgam of reality and the dream, of the present and the future. By recognizing and serving all this the Hungarian writers want to contribute to the building of a communal society and thus to the further enrichment of those unique characteristics and historical experiences which have been spoken of with recognition around the world in these months--when surveying our 25 years of development.

## III.

The writers' federation can work in accordance with the principles and goals formulated in the bylaws only if its organizational structure and system of social and professional contacts are adjusted, after careful analysis, to the requirements of our day. We must turn the general principles of socialist

democracy to new practical results. Even while we exploit the many possibilities still unexploited within our present frameworks there is need for reforms both in the functioning of the federation and in other institutions of literary life. Only in this way will it be possible to increase the social effect of literature and develop in accordance with the quality principle its internal order of values.

We must take a greater role and greater responsibility in the forming of public thinking. To do this the writers' federation needs more tools and more effective tools than at present. Before all else it seems desirable to guarantee flexibility in publishing, giving it an orienting role. We can achieve this by reviewing the present structure of the literary press and in justified cases by reorganizing it and opening new forums.

It is not only the rights and obligations of the federation members that must be systematized but also the rights and obligations of the writers' federation. We must examine the possibilities of exercising a trade union sphere of authority. Our organization must be made substantially more suitable than heretofore for the protection of our intellectual, moral and material interests so that it can act effectively and with authority in the support of humanist literature and in the interest of members' rights, the principled democratism of internal debates and respect for intellectual life in general.

Literary life is truly healthy if various stylistic trends, schools and currents find their place, role and possibilities for development within it. This requires a healthy mutual effect of currents serving the common cause and the democratism of creative debates. Some of our members are preoccupied with the thought that they should be gathered into literary groups; others oppose this solution. The new elected committee should weigh, circumspectly, taking into consideration our historical and social conditions, whether it would be possible or useful to create literary associations and workshops within or around the writers' federation.

In the course of expanding the democratism of literary life we want to support ourselves on the results and valuable achievements of cultural policy and we would like to develop them further according to the needs of our age and situation. We can regard the togetherness achieved in principled debates and the community of Hungarian literature, won in variety, as a historical achievement.

The new elected committee should turn especially great care to planning the future of our literature. We have the priority task of patiently settling the exaggerated manifestations of generational oppositions. Young writers or those just beginning their careers must be encouraged not to want to isolate themselves but rather to feel that the writers' federation is theirs, to develop their work further in the spirit of socialist democratism and their own value principles and proposals.

--Budapest, 12-13 December 1981

## New Officers

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 23 Dec 81

[Text] Communique of the Federation of Hungarian Writers

The Elected Committee of the Federation of Hungarian Writers elected the new officers of the writers' federation at its session of 21 December.

President of the writers' federation, Miklos Hubay; vice-presidents, Gyula Fekete and Andras Fodor; first secretary, Miklos Jovanovics; secretaries, Gyula Csak and Gaspar Nagy; managing secretary, Mrs Karoly Garamvolgyi; and additional members of the presidium, Miklos Beladi, Bulcsu Bertha, Tibor Cseres, Sandor Csoori, Istvan Csurka, Imre Dobozy, Matyas Domokos, Gyula Hernadi, Andras Simonffy, Sandor Tatay and Endre Veszi.

8984

CSO: 2500/108

U.S. STATEMENT ON MILITIA ACTION VIEWED

AU150822 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Dec 81 p 7

[M.B. commentary: "Regret?"]

[Text] According to UPI, a U.S. State Department spokesman thought it appropriate to comment in the following way on the militia's action in the former Higher Officers' Firefighting School in Warsaw:

"We regret that the Polish authorities have deemed it necessary to use force. We are pleased with the press reports that no one has been injured and we trust that the incident will not dissuade the Government, the Church and Solidarity from continuing to seek a peaceful solution to the current problems of Poland."

Referring to this statement, it is satisfying to note that the U.S. authorities also believe in the possibility of national accord in Poland and that they consider such a chain of events as very desirable. It is also comforting that they are as pleased as we are with the fact that no one in the firefighters' school was injured and that the entire action went calmly.

However, it is difficult to regard the expressions of "regret that the Polish authorities deemed it necessary to use force" without reservation. Does such a reaction befit spokesmen of foreign powers?

First, they know that in the United States, among other places, peacekeeping forces intervene whenever it is deemed necessary; the list of interventions by the police and the National Guard is not a short one, and these interventions are undertaken not against paramilitary organizations, but against civilian persons and groups.

Second, despite this, not a single case is known in which representatives of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs have expressed regret for this reason, since decisions of this nature are the internal matter of the United States and are the prerogative of its authorities, regardless of whether anyone in Poland approves of them or not.

As Talleyrand said, diplomacy is not only the art of speaking but also the art of avoiding speaking.

CSO: 2600/303

## MAZOWSZE SOLIDARITY 5-6 DEC MEETING REPORTED

AU111745 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Dec 81 p 2

[Teg. report: "Mazowsze Region's Plenary Session--Struggle Against Crisis or...for Power!"]

[Text] The second plenary session of the delegates from the Mazowsze Region Solidarity was held in the Warsaw Technical University on 5 and 6 December. Held immediately after the Solidarity National Commission Presidium's session in Radom, the Mazowsze session was just as stormy.

Even during the first hours, the champions of various concepts in how Solidarity should function began to compete. Some were for Solidarity's intensifying its struggle against the Government and the Party in the near future, and some thought that Solidarity's most important task is to salvage the country's ruined economy. Despite divergent aims, the same methods were proposed vis-a-vis the authorities' alleged activities aimed at disrupting Solidarity and at making the world of labor shoulder the burden of overcoming the crisis: to assume struggle "in one's own defense."

Instead of being a routine meeting, the session turned into a forum for an acute political campaign directed against the Party and the authorities. The agenda, which had been changed by the meeting, was headed by the fate of the Higher Officers' Firefighting School in Warsaw. The session agreed that the dissolution of the school was a direct attack against Solidarity. For example, Marek Holuszko, one of the leaders of the strike at that school, said: "Through their intervention, the authorities demonstrated that they differ in no way from their predecessors before August 1980." Seweryn Jaworski appealed to the session for a "firm resolution, one that will not create any doubts that it will be implemented." He thought that the best "response" would be to proclaim a general strike.

Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of the Mazowsze region, spoke about Solidarity's tactics in the near future and thus began a stormy debate lasting several hours.

As he said, following a series of talks with Government commissions, it became obvious that Solidarity would not accept the Government's proposals. Moreover, the "meeting of three" was just a political act without any specific action. The Government decisively rejected Solidarity's proposal to set up a Council for the National Economy, and the talks on access to TV ended in a fiasco. The incident



in Chorzow and the "demonstrative action" in the firefighting school were also the authorities' "response."

This trend, Z. Bujak continued, indicates that the authorities have adopted the concept of confrontation and of disrupting Solidarity. Solidarity has only two alternatives: to give up resistance and assume the character of a trade union, or to assume the struggle as a social movement. In the latter case it has nothing to lose.

Z. Bujak said that Solidarity must oppose the introduction of the provisional measure [prowizorium]: "If the authorities for confrontation, Solidarity will accept it." At the moment, Solidarity should concentrate its efforts on setting up a Social Council for the National Economy, on socializing radio and television and on dealing with the elections to the people's councils. If the authorities decide to use emergency powers, we should seek to set up a Provisional Government....

The many speeches from the floor can be summed up as demands for an immediate general strike, for a referendum on the Sejm elections, for changing the authorities.... Here are some significant excerpts from those speeches:

Henryk Bak--the authorities want to liquidate Solidarity. We must assume the struggle declared on us. It is necessary at once to prepare factories for active strikes. The Self-government Council should seize power for that period.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz proposed tactics that would result in a situation in which... "the Party rules but does not govern."

One of the few speeches full of common sense and concern for the country was the speech by Jerzy Filipowicz, a former soldier of the [wartime] Home Army. He said inter alia: "You encourage confrontation here, but the monuments for the victims of 1956 and 1970 have still not been completed. I do not subscribe to confrontation under the command of generals such as those (he pointed his finger at the leaders of the Mazowsze region) who are unable to organize good communications between factories, but yet want to set up a new government. People want to eat and sleep peacefully, but Solidarity has been asking them to be in readiness for a second year now."

In the case of the firefighting school in Warsaw, the plenary session passed a resolution asking the Mazowsze Board to take resolute protest action, including a general strike, if repression is used against the trainees and employees of the former firefighting school.

Z. Bujak proposed that representatives of large enterprises should submit typical "reports" on preparations for protest actions. An overwhelming majority of Solidarity functionaries declared that "We are ready." However, there were also a few commonsense views and questions: How will all this end?

After a stormy discussion resembling a noisy rally, the session passed a resolution on the so-called day of protest, which will be organized in a central spot of Warsaw on 17 December. Some delegates refused to recognize this resolution and became the targets of sharp attacks. It was even proposed that they should withdraw from Solidarity.

The proposal for a vote of confidence for the regional board was rejected.

The second day's discussion turned on the issue of the firefighting school in Warsaw. Some delegates criticized the choice of this subject because they thought it was an attempt to distract the session's attention from crucial issues such as the board's work and current Solidarity activities. The delegates also drew attention to the lack of consultations with plant commissions, to inadequate internal information and to irregularities in the region's fiscal activity.

The programmatic resolution is drawn in the spirit of the Radom session of the National Commission Presidium.

CSO: 2600/299

## DECREE ON DISMISSAL OF CERTAIN CRIMES, MISDEMEANORS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 323-324

[Decree dated December 12, 1981 on Dismissal of Certain Crimes and Misdemeanors, signed by H. Jablonski, Chairman of the State Council, and E. Duda, Secretary of the State Council]

[Text] In order to make it possible for citizens who, for political reasons, against the background of social strife, or unintentionally, broke the law, to become active participants in the development of the country's economic life and in the establishment of social order, and also to provide conditions conducive to national agreement and continuation of socialist transformations in social life--it is proclaimed as follows:

Art 1. 1. The following crimes committed before December 13, 1981 are dismissed:

- 1) against the fundamental political interests of the state, defined in arts 132 and 133 of the Penal Code;
- 2) against health, defined in art 156 § 2, art 158 § 1 and art 160 § 1 of the Penal Code;
- 3) against freedom, defined in art 165 § 1, arts 166 and 167 § 1, art 171 § 1 and art 172 § 1 of the Penal Code;
- 4) defamation and battery, defined in art 178 § 1 and 2, art 181 § 1 and art 182 § 1 of the Penal Code;
- 5) against religious practices, defined in arts 196 and 197 of the Penal Code;
- 6) against property, defined in a.c 212 § 1, art 214 § 1 and art 220 of the Penal Code;
- 7) against the activities of state and social institutions, defined in arts 233 and 234 § 1 and arts 235-237 of the Penal Code;
- 8) against public order, defined in art 270 § 1, arts 271 and 273 § 1 and 2 in connection with art 270 § 1 or art 271, art 275 § 1, art 276 § 1 and 3, art 278 § 1-3 and arts 279-282, 284-285 and 288 § 2 of the Penal Code;

9) defined in art 6a of the decree dated July 5, 1946 on the establishment of a Main Office for Control of Press, Publications, and Shows (GUKPP4W) (DZIENNIK USTAW No 74, Item 210 and subsequent changes).

2. Unintentional crimes punishable by imprisonment up to 3 years or subject to less severe penalties, committed prior to December 13, 1981, are dismissed.

Art 2. The following misdemeanors committed prior to December 13, 1981 are dismissed:

- 1) against public peace and order, defined in arts 49, 50 and 51 § 1, art 52 § 1, arts 53, 54 and 56 § 1, 57 § 1, art 61 § 1 and 2 and art 63 § 1 of the Misdemeanors Code;
- 2) against state and social institutions, defined in art 65 § 1, art 67 § 1, art 68 § 1 and 2 and art 69 of the Misdemeanors Code;
- 3) against the safety of persons or property, defined in art 75 § 1 and art 76 of the Misdemeanors Code;
- 4) against property, defined in art 124 § 1, art 126 § 1 and art 127 § 1 of the Misdemeanors Code;
- 5) against public utility equipment, defined in art 145 of the Misdemeanors Code;
- 6) as defined in art 57 of the order of the President of the Republic, dated October 27, 1932.--Law on associations (DZIENNIK USTAW No 94, Item 808 and subsequent changes..
- 7) as defined in art 9 of the law dated March 28, 1933 on graves and military cemeteries (DZIENNIK USTAW No 39, Item 311 and subsequent changes);
- 8) as defined in art 31 par 1 of the decree dated March 23, 1956 on the protection of State borders (DZIENNIK USTAW No 9, Item 51 and subsequent changes);
- 9) as defined in art 17 of the law dated July 31, 1981 on control of publications and shows (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99).

Art 3. The provisions of art 1 par 1 are applied if the crime is:

- 1) committed for political reasons,
- 2) directed against a person or a State or social institution by reason of the official, professional, political, social or union activity performed by this person or institution or
- 3) is committed in connection with a strike or a protest action.



Art 4. 1. In the case of concurrent crimes or misdemeanors which are being dismissed, the provisions of the decree are applied to each of the concurrent crimes or misdemeanors.

2. In the case of concurrence of a crime or misdemeanor with a crime or misdemeanor which is not being dismissed, the provisions of the decree are applied to the crime or misdemeanor which is being dismissed.

Art 5. 1. In cases of crimes which are being dismissed, criminal procedures will not be instituted.

2. In cases of crimes which are being dismissed in which the decision to prosecute was issued prior to December 13, 1981, penal proceedings will be discontinued only if the perpetrator has ceased the criminal activity and before the sentence pronounced has become valid has voluntarily submitted a written commitment that he will observe the law and respect the rules of community life.

3. The provisions of par 2 will be appropriately applied also in the case of conditional discontinuance of penal proceedings. The penal card will be removed from the register of the sentenced after the lapse of 1 year from the day the adjudgment of the discontinuance of penal proceedings became valid.

4. In matters of crimes which are being dismissed, committed by persons on whom a decision on internment has been issued, the instituted penal proceedings are suspended. After cessation or revocation of internment, the appropriate provisions of the decree are applied.

Art 6. In case of discontinuance of penal proceedings, instruments and other objects which were used or were intended to be used in the commission of the crime are adjudged to be forfeited, and also objects deriving directly or indirectly from the crime, as well as objects whose manufacture, possession, turnover or transport is forbidden or requires permission.

Art 7. If the perpetrator of the crime which is being dismissed commits, within one year from the date that the adjudgment of the discontinuance of the penal proceedings on the basis of the provisions of art 5 par 2 or 3 becomes valid, a new crime similar to that on which a prison sentence with conditional suspension of its execution was pronounced, the previously discontinued penal proceedings are instituted.

Art 8. 1. In proceedings before the court, the provisions of the decree are applied by the court fit to examine the case, and in the preliminary proceedings, by the prosecutor; however, the court, at the proposal of the prosecutor, adjudges the forfeiture of objects mentioned in art 6.

2. In the cases mentioned in art 7, the institution of previously discontinued penal proceedings is adjudged by the organ who discontinued them.

3. In proceedings on matters of misdemeanors, provisions of the decree are applied by the misdemeanors council.

Art 9. 1. Adjudgments on the subject of applying the provisions of the decree are issued in the form of a decision, and in retrial proceedings, in the form of a verdict.

2. The decisions on the subject of the application of the provisions of the decree may be appealed.

Art 10. The provisions of arts 3, 5, 6 and 9 are applied as appropriate in matters of misdemeanors which are dismissed.

Art 11. In proceedings on the subject of applying the provisions of the decree, the provisions which are binding in the proceedings before the organ conducting them are applied.

Art 12. The Ministers of National Defense, Justice, and Internal Affairs, and the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic may issue the regulations indispensable for the execution of the decree.

Art 13. The decree is effective on the day of announcement and is in force from the day of passage.

9295

CSO: 2600/228

## ORDERS ON PROCEDURES FOR INTERNMENT OF POLISH CITIZENS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 324-325

[Order of the Chairman, Council of Ministers, General of the Army W. Jaruzelski, dated December 12, 1981, on Principles of Procedures for Internment of Polish Citizens]

[Text] Based on art 43 par 6 of the decree dated December 12, 1981 on martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 134) it is ordered as follows:

§ 1. The provisions of the order apply to Polish citizens who, during the time that martial law is in effect, are on the territory of the Polish People's Republic or within the boundaries of the units of administrative division of the State in which martial law was imposed, or who, for the purpose of hiding, left the areas of these units.

§ 2.1. Procedures on internment are officially instituted if, in view of the past behavior of the person referred to § 1, there is justifiable suspicion that if allowed to remain at large that person will not observe the law or will conduct activity which endangers the interests of the security of defense of the State.

2. Procedures on internment may be conducted without the participation of the person to whom they pertain.

3. Procedures on internment may be conducted in relation to a person who has completed 17 years of age.

§ 3.1. If data existing at the time the procedures are instituted or gathered during the course of these procedures contain sufficient bases for acknowledging that the person referred to in § 1, if allowed to remain at large, will not observe the law or will conduct activity which endangers the interests of the security or defense of the State, a decision on internment will be issued, unless these data contain a basis for setting forth the charges contained herein in a penal procedure and to make a temporary arrest as provided for in art 217 § 1 of the Penal Procedure Code, or to detain and present information on the crime in an accelerated procedure before the court, or to submit a proposal for punishment before the misdemeanors council.

2. The decision on internment should contain:

1) the designation of the organ which issued the decision;

- 2) the date and place of issuance of the decision;
- 3) data describing the identity of the addressee of the decision;
- 4) a description of the legal bases of the decision;
- 5) the decision on the case;
- 6) an indication of the factual circumstances justifying the decision;
- 7) an immediate execution clause;
- 8) information on the right to file a complaint;
- 9) signature of the person issuing the decision.

3. The decision on internment is handed to the internee personally at the time he is detained by the Citizens' Militia (MO).

4. The decision on internment is subject to immediate execution.

§ 4. Procedures in internment cases are conducted by and decisions on internment are issued by the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia (MO) in whose locality of operation the person to whom the procedure pertains is living or lived before going into hiding.

§ 5. 1. At the same time the decision on internment is issued, the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia issues an order to place the given person in an isolation center.

2. Persons on whom decisions on internment were issued are subject to detention and transfer to isolation centers.

3. The decision on internment and the order for placement in an isolation center is sent to the administration of the isolation center.

4. The actions of detaining and transferring, referred to in para 2 and 3, are performed by the functionaries of the Citizens' Militia on the basis of the order to place the person in an isolation center.

§ 6. 1. The internee has the right to file a complaint on the decision on internment to the Ministry of Internal Affairs through the organ which issued it.

2. The filing of a complaint does not delay the execution of the decision on internment.

3. The complaint is filed within 7 days of the date of delivery of the decision on internment. A second complaint can be filed no sooner than one month from the date of delivery of notice on how the previous complaint was settled.



4. The organ which issued the decision on internment will refuse to accept a complaint if it was filed by an unauthorized person or after the date in the case of the first complaint; a second complaint filed before the required date will not be examined until this date has expired.

5. If the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia, against whose decision the complaint was filed, acknowledges that it is wholly deserving of consideration, he may revoke the previously issued decision on internment.

§ 7. 1. The decision on internment becomes invalid in the case of:

- 1) adoption by the court or prosecutor of temporary arrest as provided in art 217 § 1 or art 45 of the Penal Procedure Code;
  - 2) sentencing to imprisonment, applying art 217 § 3 of the Penal Procedure Code or punishment by arrest, if this punishment is immediately executed;
  - 3) bringing to a penal facility for the purpose of imprisonment or arrest;
  - 4) discontinuance of penal procedure, issuance of a verdict of innocence, or discontinuance of procedure in a misdemeanor case, or issuance of an adjudgment of innocence in connection with the behavior which was the basis for the internment.
2. The provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia officially revokes the decision on internment if the reasons justifying its use cease to exist.
3. Internment ceases with the date of lifting of martial law.

§ 8. Irrespective of the issuance of a decision on internment, the Citizens' Militia should undertake action to gather data, furnishing sufficient bases for presenting charges against the specified person in a penal procedure or the data indispensable for the preparation of proposals for punishment in a procedure in cases of misdemeanors.

§ 9. 1. If the internee has minor children or close adult persons who are totally dependent on him, who as a result of internment will be without care or means of support, the provincial commander who issued the decision on internment, will summon the internee to file a written declaration indicating the person who will provide the care or furnish the means of support. The organ accepting the declaration will ensure that the person indicated is informed about the necessity to assume the care or to furnish the means of support.

2. If the internee has not indicated a person who will provide the care and the welfare of the minor child requires it, the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia who issued the decision on internment will request the appropriate guardian's court to establish care in accordance with the provisions of title III, section I of the Family and Guardian Code and volume II, title II, section II, chapter 2 of sections 1 and 4 of the Civil Procedure Code.

3. If the internee did not indicate a person who will furnish the means of support, and the living requirements of close adult persons who were fully dependent upon the internee for their support so require, the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia who issued the decision on internment will request the appropriate local organ of the state administration at the basic level to grant the indispensable assistance.

4. If it is necessary to safeguard the property of the internee, the provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia who issued the decision on internment will request the appropriate local organ of state administration at the basic level to safeguard this property according to the provisions of the law dated June 17, 1966 on an execution procedure in administration (DZIENNIK USTAW No 24, item 151 and subsequent changes).

§ 10. On matters not regulated in the order, the appropriate provisions of the Administrative Procedure Code are applied in the procedures in cases on internment.

§ 11. The order is effective on the day of announcement and is in force from the date of imposition of martial law.

9295

CSO: 2600/228

## ORDER ON CARRYING OUT REGULATIONS ON COMMUNICATIONS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 29, 14 Dec 81 pp 325-328

[Order dated December 12, 1981 on carrying out the regulations of the decree on Martial Law in the Area of Communications, issued by General of the Army W. Jaruzelski, Chairman, Council of Ministers]

[Text] Based on art 18 par 1, art 19 par 2 and art 36 of the decree dated December 12, 1981 on martial law (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154) it is ordered as follows:

## Chapter I

## Censorship of Postal Matter and Telecommunication Correspondence and Control of Telephone Conversations

§ 1. Censorship of postal matter and telecommunication correspondence and control of telephone conversations is introduced.

§ 2. 1. The censorship mentioned in § 1 covers domestic and foreign postal matter and telecommunication correspondence.

2. The control mentioned in § 1 covers telephone conversations in the telecommunication network of public use.

§ 3. The censorship and control mentioned in § 1 is conducted by censorship organs appointed under the provisions of art 18 par 2 of the decree on martial law dated December 12, 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 29, item 154).

§ 4. The censorship organs are empowered to:

- 1) censor, hold or confiscate, wholly or in part, postal matter and telecommunication correspondence;
- 2) obliterate in postal matter and telecommunication correspondence information whose text may endanger the security or defense interests of the State;
- 3) interrupt telephone conversations and telegraph and telex connections if their text may endanger the security or defense interests of the State;

- 4) propose to appropriate organs in the Ministry of Communication the disconnection of particular relations and telephone, telex and telegraph subscribers to ensure the protection of the security and defense interests of the State.

## Chapter II

### Restrictions in Performing Postal and Telecommunication Services

§ 5. Restrictions in performing postal and telecommunication services are introduced.

§ 6. 1. Within the framework of restrictions mentioned in § 5, in regard to postal communication services, the acceptance of the following is suspended:

- 1) packages in the relations:

- a) citizen to citizen,

- b) citizen to State institution, State enterprise, mission, political, social and cooperative organization,

- 2) postal matter containing books, the press and printed materials in the citizen to citizen relation.

2. The restrictions mentioned in par 1, point 1, do not pertain to packages containing drugs, medicines and objects indispensable for saving life or health and packages containing clothing and food.

3. The acceptance of packages from State institutions, State enterprises, missions, political, social and cooperative organizations is retained.

4. The acceptance by the postal-telecommunication office of the package mentioned in par 3 is conditioned on the submission of a signed certificate stating the necessity for sending it and itemizing its contents. The certificate must be on the letterhead stationery and bear the legible signature of the head of the institution (enterprise, organization, mission).

5. Packages weighing up to 5 kilograms may be accepted.

§ 7. The acceptance of packages and postal matter containing books, the press and printed materials to be sent by citizens to foreign countries is suspended.

§ 8. 1. Packages are accepted at designated postal-telecommunication offices during specified hours.

2. Addresses of postal-telecommunication offices mentioned in par 1 and the hours they are open will be made public in all postal-telecommunication offices.

3. Packages and valuable postal matter will be accepted only if they are open, making it possible to look at their contents.



4. The package accepted by the postal-telecommunication office will be personally secured (wrapped) by the person sending it, in the presence of a worker in this office.

§ 9. In the case of a claim for nondelivery of postal matter, the appropriate postal-telecommunication office will notify the sender holding proof of mailing it of the reason for nondelivery.

§ 10. For the period of time that the restrictions mentioned in § 5 are introduced, the decisions and guidelines in effect at the Ministry of Communications pertaining to timely delivery of packages, postal matter, telecommunication correspondence and telephone conversations, are suspended.

§ 11. The Minister of Communications, in coordination with the Minister of Internal Affairs, at the proposal of the interested minister (central office head) may on the basis of a separate decision revoke or expand the restrictions in performing postal communication services introduced by the order.

§ 12. Within the framework of the restrictions mentioned in § 5, in the part pertaining to telecommunication services:

- 1) international telephone connections are made through the telephone operators of the international exchange of the Polish Post, Telegraph and Telephone State enterprise (hereafter referred to in abbreviation "PPTiT") in Warsaw,
- 2) international telex connections are made through telegraph operators in the PPTiT international telex exchange in Warsaw,
- 3) foreign telegrams are sent through the PPTiT telegraph exchange in Warsaw,
- 4) multi-zone coin-box telephones are disconnected,
- 5) an identity card must be shown when requesting telephone conversations and telex connections in postal-telecommunication offices.

### Chapter III

#### Halting and Restricting the Operation of Communications Equipment

§ 13. 1. The operation of communications equipment in the following areas is halted:

- 1) regular international radio communication,
  - 2) all circuits and radio wire and radio link paths in international relations, including border communications, in the uniform State telecommunication network, implemented outside the PPTiT international exchange in Warsaw.
2. The operation of the Minister of Communications' public wire broadcasting centers is halted.

§ 14. 1. The regulations in § 13 par 1 do not pertain to communications equipment of the armed forces and the ministries of internal affairs and foreign affairs.

2. The Minister of Communications, at the proposal of the Minister of Internal Affairs, may permit the maintenance or resumption of the operation of communications equipment mentioned in § 13 par 1, and of the equipment mentioned in § 13 par 2-- the director of the provincial telecommunication office at the proposal of the governor (equivalent).

§ 15. 1. Radio-communication and radio-telephone equipment operating in nationwide, intra-ministry, intra-province and intra-plant networks may be used by organizational units of the State administration and national economy for official purposes only.

2. If the assurance of the protection of the security and defense interests of the State requires, the Minister of Communications, on the basis of a separate decision, may in coordination with the Minister of Internal Affairs, halt or restrict the operation of communications equipment in the area of:

- 1) naval radio communication,
- 2) permanent and mobile land radio communications of a nationwide range and that which operates in the intra-ministry, intra-province and intra-plant networks.

§ 16. 1. To ensure the protection of the security or defense interests of the State, restrictions may be applied in the area of:

- 1) telephone conversations,
- 2) telex connections,
- 3) receipt of telegrams,
- 4) use of leased circuits.

2. The restrictions mentioned in par 1 may chiefly depend on disconnecting specific relations, groups of subscribers or private subscribers.

3. The restrictions mentioned in par 1 are applied by the organs of the Ministry of Communications at the proposal of organs under the Minister of Internal Affairs.

§ 17. 1. A ban is introduced on installing and using amateur and experimental radio transmitting and transmitting-receiving equipment.

2. On the effective day of the order, permits for the establishment and use of private and club and experimental radio stations, issued prior to that on the basis of regulations in an order of the Minister of Communications, dated December 23, 1968, on the issuance of permits for the installation and use of amateur and experimental radio equipment and conditions for their use (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1969, No 2, item 14), are invalid.

3. The regulations of pars 1 and 2 pertain correspondingly to radio telephones in the possession of physical persons.

§ 18. 1. The possessors of private and club amateur radio transmitting and transmitting-receiving equipment and physical persons possessing radio telephones are required to return the permits in their possession for the installation and use of radio equipment to the organ which issued it, at the same time they turn this equipment in for deposit, as mentioned in Chapter IV.

2. The possessors of experimental radio transmitting and transmitting-receiving equipment are required within 48 hours of the date the order goes into effect to:

- 1) return the permits in their possession for the use of radio equipment to the organ which issued it,
- 2) disassemble the radio equipment in their possession into component parts,
- 3) ensure that the radio equipment in their possession cannot be started up and used by other persons.

§ 19. The Minister of Communications exercises supervision and control over the execution of the regulations of § 18.

§ 20. The Minister of Communications in coordination with the Minister of Internal Affairs may in justified cases issue permits for the installation or use of the equipment mentioned in § 17 pars 1 and 3 to a designated person or institution.

§ 21. 1. The installation or use of the radio equipment mentioned in § 17 pars 1 and 3 without permission granted on the basis of § 20 constitutes a misdemeanor as defined in art 63 of the law dated May 20, 1971, Misdemeanor Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 12, item 114) or a crime as defined in art 287 of the law dated April 19, 1969, Penal Code (DZIENNIK USTAW No 13, item 94 and subsequent changes) and may result in an adjudgment of forfeiture of the radio equipment.

2. Violation of regulations of § 18 may result in the consequences specified in § 24 and § 28.

§ 22. During the time that the operation of the communications equipment mentioned in Chapter III is halted, tariff charges will not be collected.

#### Chapter IV

##### Turning in Radio Transmitting and Transmitting-Receiving Equipment for Deposit

§ 23. 1. It is required that:

- 1) physical persons possessing private amateur radio transmitting or transmitting-receiving equipment,
- 2) amateur radio clubs possessing amateur club radio transmitting or transmitting-receiving equipment,

3) physical persons possessing any type of radio-telephones

--to turn this equipment in for deposit, even if it is not their own property.

2. The requirement mentioned in par 1 also covers the storage of radio transmitting and transmitting-receiving equipment and its component parts not in current usage.

§ 24. 1. Should it be ascertained that experimental radio transmitting or transmitting-receiving equipment has been installed or used without the required permission, the organs under the Minister of Communications in coordination with the organs of the Citizens' Militia may require that scientific-research institutions, socialized plants producing radio equipment, and higher and middle schools whose program of instruction includes radio engineering, turn in the equipment that they possess for deposit.

2. Should it be ascertained that radio communication and radio-telephone equipment operating in nationwide, intra-ministry, intra-province or intra-plant networks is being used in a way that goes beyond official needs, the organs under the Minister of Communications in coordination with the organs of the Citizens' Militia may require the organizational units of the State administration and national economy to turn in the equipment that they possess for deposit.

3. In the cases mentioned in pars 1 and 2, the appropriate organs may also in another way ensure that the equipment cannot be used.

§ 25. 1. Procedures on turning in radio equipment for deposit are conducted by:

1) the appropriate local district inspector of the State Radio Inspectorate (Panstwowa Inspekcja Radiowa - PIR) in cooperation with the appropriate provincial commander of the Citizens' Militia, in relation to equipment mentioned in § 24 par 1,

2) the Chief Inspector of the State Radio Inspectorate, in relation to equipment mentioned in § 24 par 2.

2. The decision on turning in radio equipment for deposit is issued by:

1) the district inspector of the State Radio Inspectorate, in relation to equipment mentioned in § 24 par 1,

2) the Chief Inspector of the State Radio Inspectorate, in relation to equipment mentioned in § 24 par 2.

3. The decision on turning in radio equipment for deposit is delivered to the party in writing in accordance with the regulations of arts 39-48 of the law dated June 14, 1960 - Administrative Procedure Code (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1960, No 9, item 26). The decision may also be delivered by a functionary of the Citizens' Militia or an employee in the State Radio Inspectorate.



4. The decision on turning in radio equipment for deposit, issued by the organ mentioned in par 2, is final. There is no appeal from the decision.

5. The decision on turning in radio equipment for deposit is subject to immediate execution.

§ 26. 1. The Minister of Communications in coordination with the Minister of Internal Affairs, in justified cases may grant a designated person or institution permission to withdraw the radio equipment, mentioned in § 23, turned in for deposit.

2. The decision on turning in radio equipment, mentioned in § 24, for deposit, may at any time be revoked by the organ which issued it if the reasons justifying its remaining in effect cease to exist.

§ 27. 1. Physical persons and radio amateur clubs mentioned in § 23 par 1 are required to voluntarily, at their own cost and risk, turn in for deposit the radio equipment in their possession within 48 hours of the time the order becomes effective.

2. The organizational units mentioned in § 24 are required to voluntarily turn in, at their own cost and risk, the radio equipment in their possession for deposit within 24 hours of the date of delivery of the decision on turning the radio equipment in for deposit.

3. Radio equipment is turned in for deposit at the seat of the appropriate local provincial telecommunication office or at a place designated by the director of this office.

§ 28. Should the radio equipment not be turned in for deposit at the designated time and place, this equipment will be removed and turned in for deposit by the organs of the Citizens' Militia at the proposal of the appropriate local inspector (Chief Inspector) of the State Radio Inspectorate, according to the appropriate regulations of the law dated June 17, 1966 on enforcement procedure in administration (DZIENNIK USTAW No 24, item 151 and subsequent changes).

§ 29. 1. The regulations of the Minister of Finance's order dated July 6, 1950 in the matter of procedures on material deposits (MONITOR POLSKI No A-79, item 925) will be appropriately applied to the radio equipment turned in for deposit.

2. The principles for utilizing the radio equipment turned in for deposit for the defense needs of the State are defined in separate regulations.

3. The State Treasury bears responsibility for damage done to radio equipment turned in for deposit.

§ 30. The Minister of Communications exercises supervision and control over the acceptance for deposit and storage of deposited radio equipment.

§ 31. The regulations in Chapter IV do not infringe on the regulations of the order of the Council of Ministers dated July 17, 1981 on the matter of services in behalf of the defense of the country (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 103).

## Chapter V

### Concluding Regulations

§ 32. The Minister of Communications and the local organs of State administration at the provincial level will publicly announce the requirements and restrictions resulting from the order.

§ 33. The chairmen of the Main Boards of the Polish Shortwave Union (Polski Związek Krótkofalowy - PZK) and the National Defense League (LOK) and the Commandant of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) will inform the members of those associations who possess the equipment mentioned in § 23 par 1, of the regulations contained in Chapters III and IV.

§ 34. 1. The regulations of Chapters I and II and § 16 apply to postal matter sent in the area on which martial law was imposed or is addressed to persons in this area, and also to telephone, telegraph and telex subscribers who are in this area.

2. Regulations in § 17-22 and Chapter IV apply to radio equipment installed in the area in which martial law was imposed.

3. Regulations in § 13-15 apply only in the case that martial law is imposed in the entire territory of the State.

§ 35. The order is effective on the day of announcement and is in force from the date of imposition of martial law.

9295

CSO: 2600/229

## NOWAK BOOK ON FRG INTELLIGENCE SERVICES REVIEWED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 147-148

[Review by A.Z. of book "ZA PARAWANEM SŁUŻB SPECJALNYCH REPUBLIKI FEDERALNEJ NIEMIEC" "Behind the Screen of the Federal Republic of Germany's Special Services] by Edward K. Nowak, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej [Ministry of National Defense Publishers], Warsaw, 1981, 207 pages]

[Text] This work presents the origin and organization of FRG intelligence and counter-intelligence services, the participation of intelligence and counter-intelligence in the political life of that country, and the role of intelligence in foreign policy. The author writes that intelligence is one of the constant instruments in West German foreign policy. It executes tasks which arise from the strategic objective of the West German capitalists, which is the consolidation of capitalism. That is to say, intelligence acquires information which is indispensable to the conduct of foreign policy, undertakes external activity intended to defend the interests of the ruling class, and neutralizes activity directed against FRG foreign policy objectives.

Against the background of the development of the international situation, the author discusses the role and significance of the Federal Intelligence Service and its influence on governmental decisions in the area of foreign policy. He also attempts to define "projected" methods of operation of foreign intelligence services in the 1980's. These methods, he writes, will be characteristic of the Cold War period, with elements typical of the period of detente. For example, in the FRG the Federal Intelligence Service currently employs methods typical of the detente period, e.g., the tightening of cooperation with the Federal Border Defense Service, which i.a. keeps travellers from socialist countries under surveillance.

CSO: 2600/302

POLAND

BRIEFS

POLISH DEFECTIONS IN THAILAND--More than ten Polish citizens jumped ship in Bangkok last week and sought asylum in the United States, Canada and Western Europe, informed diplomatic sources told the NATION yesterday. About 10-12 Poles from the Polish freighter, Kuznica, which left Khlong Toei harbour on Saturday (January 2) after a week-long port call, went to the United States Embassy in Bangkok at different times during December 28-30. A couple, also from the ship, sought and obtained permission from the Canadian Embassy here to emigrate to Canada. [Excerpt] [BK060026 Bangkok NATION REVIEW in English 6 Jan 82 p 1]

CSO: 3030/27



CHANGES IN COMPOSITION OF GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Prt I No 116, 30 Dec 81 p 8

[Resolution of the Grand National Assembly on Modifications in the Composition of Some Permanent Commissions of the Grand National Assembly]

[Text] Inasmuch as some deputies, members of permanent commissions have received new assignments and some positions on commissions have become vacant, the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves:

That the composition of some permanent commissions of the Grand National Assembly should be modified as follows:

1. The Credentials Commission:

--Deputy Trandafir Cocarla is released;

--Deputy Vasile Lauric is elected.

2. The Commission for Industry and Economic-Financial Activity:

--Deputy Emilian Dobrescu is released;

--Deputies Ioan Pascuta and Gheorghe Potocean are elected.

3. The Commission for Agriculture, Silviculture and Water Administration:

--Deputy Ion Tesu is released;

--Deputy Florin Cenciu is elected.

4. The Commission for Education, Science and Culture:

--Deputies Ion Lancranjan and Dezideriu Sailgyi are elected.

5. The Commission for Health, Labor, Social Welfare and Environmental Protection:

--Deputy Ion Ciucu is released;

--Deputy Alecu Popa is elected.

6. The Commission for Peoples Councils and State Administration:

--Deputy Carolica Vasile is elected.

This resolution was adopted by the Grand National Assembly at its session on 23 December 1981.

Chairman of the Grand National Assembly,

Nicolae Giosan

Bucharest 23 December 1981  
No 6

CSO: 2700/161

# SHORTCOMINGS IN HEALTH CARE REVEALED BY MINISTRY OFFICIAL

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Dec 81 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Dr Radu Ozun, director of the Directorate of Medical Care in the Ministry of Health, by Ioana Patrascu]

[Text] [Question] Recently the Executive Bureau of the Management Council of the Ministry of Health adopted new measures concerning the authorized functions of hospitals. What were the reasons for the recent decisions?

[Answer] In the last few years the Ministry of Health has tried consistently to improve the hospitals' activity and to make good use of their material resources and personnel. On the basis of those analyses and consultations with highly trained personnel in the medical-pharmaceutical institutes and research institutes and with other specialists in the system, preliminary criteria were formulated for the functions of the specialized sections of hospitals as well as the methods of applying them. Once they go into effect, these criteria will permit better adjustment of the medical activities to the requirements of the public and a real improvement in medical performance and care of patients, and they will prevent errors in diagnosis and treatment especially in the surgical sections. In conforming to the general measures the party and state are taking on behalf of efficient use of the material resources and personnel in all fields, we have also made analyses in the health sector according to counties and geographic areas, checking in particular the activity of the health units with beds.

[Question] What did you find on that occasion?

[Answer] One thing is certain: The workers councils in the health units, the collective organs and the health directorates are making a greater effort to observe the criteria for hospitalization accurately and to use and manage material resources and personnel carefully. There is also a greater sense of responsibility to prevent unwarranted internments, so that all cases that are not serious will be treated in the clinical system as they should be. Therefore if we are to evaluate the situation, the favorable aspects and interest in improved medical care predominate. But there are some defects that will surely be eliminated by application of the authorizations conferred on hospitals. For example, in some surgical sections or wards in small hospitals, about 20-30 percent of the internments are unwarranted and based on diagnoses according to other medical specialties. In those cases the index of use of the

beds is sometimes the sole criterion for evaluating the activity. But that factor does not reflect the facts accurately because the beds in the respective sections are not used for their purposes but for ailments that have nothing to do with surgery.

/Question/ Please give us some examples.

/Answer/ First I shall mention some situations that do us no honor. Some physicians have been brought to justice for disregarding their professional obligations and violating medical morality. That happened in the Saveni, Dorohoi and Horezu hospitals, where serious therapeutic failures were caused by irresponsible surgery. There are also sections where critical and intermediate operations are performed illicitly and without the necessary facilities and authorization. Yet the same people refuse to perform urgent operations, directing the patients to other hospitals without giving them the most elementary care required by their serious condition. In other cases, some surgeons perform operations merely to keep busy and justify the existence of the beds, exerting all kinds of influence for the purpose and even resorting to exaggerated statistics on the activity. There are some surgical sections and wards that increase the cost of medical care and maintain a high risk for the patients by their large volume of operations. In those places the activity is of a routine character and the operations are of questionable necessity (appendicitis, hernias etc.). We have situations in some sections of the Abrud and Sebes hospitals (Alba County), the Ineu Hospital (Arad County), the Valenii de Munte Hospital (Prahova County) and the Carei Hospital (Satu Mare County), where the use index of the beds is 340-380 for 1980. It is over 500 at the Tandarei Hospital (Ialomita County), 407 at Giurgiu Hospital etc. It is well known that internments beyond the hospitalization capacity of the section make surgery risky, cause infections and postoperative complications, and entail responsibility of the administrators for the obligations they have for the comfort and care of patients.

There are also sections that have little activity or none at all because of poor organization of the work, as in Marasesti, Fierbinti, Gaesti, Patirlagele, Murgeni, Schela, Cervenia and other hospitals. Even the cases interned in these sections are largely in the province of the clinical units, a situation that makes a number of measures urgent, including improvement of personnel.

/Question/ The problem of clinical medical care also calls for discussion. Why do cases that can be treated in that system nevertheless go to hospitals?

/Answer/ In the first place, the material and manpower outlays that have been and are made for the best possible facilities for the comfort and staffing of hospitals have created the myth to the effect that hospitals alone can cure any ailment. This attitude is widespread and sometimes even encouraged. The hospital, an institution privileged anyway as to equipment and staffing, will receive further attention from the Ministry of Health, but at the same time efforts will also be made to improve clinical medical care so that the general practitioner can treat all current illnesses, especially since he comes in contact with the most patients. Internment is unquestionably a normal procedure and should be used for those who really need treatment in such a medical institution. But it has been found that there are wards or sections with beds for various purposes with an artificial load that varies from 25 to 35 percent for illnesses like simple bronchitis, arthritis, or minor ailments of the digestive tract that can be treated in a clinical unit. The Ministry of



Health is making more and more efforts to remedy these defects. Material aid was given recently to the health directorates in Arad, Arges, Brasov, Constanta, Cluj, Iasi, Timis and Prahova counties, where internments still occur for cases that are not serious and within the province of the dispensary of general medicine or the specialized offices.

[Question] But don't you think the facilities of the clinical care system should also be augmented? Do you intend to improve that activity?

[Answer] Great efforts are being made. The Ministry of Health has started a veritable war against routine practices and for strengthened order and discipline and strict observance of the functions of every health unit. In the clinical health system (dispensaries and dispensary-polyclinics), in addition to intensified outfitting with the necessary apparatus and equipment, we shall pursue observance of specific obligations on the part of the health personnel working in those units. The medical personnel in those sections must take regular preventive action in the form of active dispensary treatment of illnesses, elimination of the health risk factors, and expand the efforts toward health education and culture of the entire population according to age, sex and fields of activity.

In clinical care, we have over 5,000 regional and enterprise medical dispensaries staffed with at least one general practitioner or pediatrician, one dentist and intermediate health personnel. This area is covered by some of the finest personnel to perform an efficient activity and to give complete treatment to the cases for this kind of medical care.

The measures taken to develop, organize and improve health protection have greatly changed the conception of traditional medicine in the attitude toward disease. Nevertheless we still have a great deal to do in the way of balanced staffing throughout Romania and intensifying preventive actions.

[Question] Of what do the new regulations consist?

[Answer] In the light of the current requirements, the Ministry of Health has very carefully analyzed these aspects and concluded that medical services in all echelons can be further increased and clinical activity strengthened only by determining and correctly applying the authorizations for every health unit, authorizations determined by the material resources of the respective unit, the number and training of its personnel, and its accessibility.

The authorizations particularly concern the specialized hospital sections. They will favorably affect medical care, restrict and eliminate the defects caused by routine practices, and curtail unnecessary internments. The authorizations will also help the more seriously ill so that they will be sent as soon as possible to the units with the best facilities for medical care and the units on a high technical level will not be congested with cases not requiring hospitalization.

[Question] Don't these measures somewhat limit the possibility of urgent medical care?

[Answer] On the contrary, once the authorized functions are determined they will increase the responsibility of all health units and all medical personnel for urgent medical care and first aid under any circumstances and at any hour of the day or

night. What is more, there will be an improvement in medical practice in itself and in the care of patients in all hospitals. Errors in diagnosis will be prevented and, what is essential, the measures for the patients' recovery will be more effective. That is the first consideration. In the second place, better use can be made of the existing material resources and personnel, as the objective criteria for providing the units with the necessary medical specialists and medical apparatus and equipment. In the third place, the authorized functions encourage the further professional training and improvement of health personnel.

5186

CSO: 2700/143

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

VALIDATION OF ELECTION OF DEPUTY--On the basis of Article 47 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Grand National Assembly resolves that the election of Comrade Carolica Vasile, as deputy in the Grand National Assembly, from electoral district No 7, Nehoiu, Buzau County, on 9 August 1981, is validated. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 116, 30 Dec 81, p 8]

CSO: 2700/161

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**DATE FILMED**

February 19 1982